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JANUARY 26, 1948

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CONTRIBUTING EDITOR: Henry A. Wallace
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: W. D. Patterson

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MANAGING EDITOR: Edd Johnson
ARTICLES: Norman Grieser (Chief), Joseph Lyford, Richard Strouse, Thomas Whiteside
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ADVERTISING MANAGER: E. G. Wood
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Eric Shumway

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THINGS look a lot brighter for the Marshall Plan. Some big-scale program now seems likely to pass Congress, though quotations on the total fluctuate here like volatile stocks on the Curb Exchange. A lot of Republicans are looking for a face-saving formula under which they can support the idea, without approving the whole amount or acknowledging that it is a Democratic program. The meeting of 20 GOP Senators at old Senator Reed's (Kans.) apartment last week, at the call of isolationist Wherry (Nebr.), was a sign of Marshall Plan strength, not weakness. The Wherry-Taft crowd know they face a big party split if they adopt an isolationist line, and are eager to avoid it.

There is a real question whether Secretary Marshall's strong stand—"Give us enough dollars to do the job right, or don't waste any money at all"—was wise. Some friends of the plan think it was a bad tactical error; who ever talked to a Senator like that before? We, for our part, liked it fine. It was time somebody told Congress the facts of life, and we think it is already having a good effect.

New concepts. Watching the Marshall Plan debate here is fascinating. New global concepts, as unprecedented in their way as the sums involved, are cracking through. For better or worse we have a sense of a new chapter being written. Take socialism. The State Department has affirmed publicly that European socialism is one of the great bulwarks against Communist totalitarianism. And this right after men like Stassen, and Dos Passos (writing in *Life*) show they still can't differentiate between Attlee and Stalin. Then there's the new concept that America had better take some global responsibility or pay 10 times the cost in armament bills.

Politics are livening up. Truman has established a strong New Deal pattern in his three messages to Congress, is digging in for what seems like a veto of the inflation-promoting Knutson tax-cut bill, which Congress seems hell-bent on passing. It looks more and more certain that tax cuts, if they come, will be taken out of foreign-aid funds, a course which GOP candidate Taft frankly advocates.

Eisenhower's hat is now, for all practical purposes, in the ring. Told that his name would be formally entered in the New Hampshire test primary with backing of liberal politician Senator Tobey, Ike came through with another standardized statement expressing dislike of politics but avoiding that little, two-letter monosyllable, "No," which would have ended the whole thing right there. Washington has drawn its own conclusions—Ike's in the race, and may very well get the nomination—and election.

It wasn't long after that that frozen-lipped Governor Thomas E. Dewey took the hint and tossed in his bonnet. The GOP battle is really warming up.

Third party. On the Democratic side interest centers on Henry Wallace. Washington correspondents have been wrong in the past, but their views at present appear to boil down to this: Truman's election chances are dubious, but depend a good deal on whom the GOP picks. If a Wallace third-party ticket appears, Truman loses anyway. Having licked Truman, the Wallaceites may, or may not, sweep to victory in 1952, but the intervening four years should be a conservative carnival. In particular the new House should be a beauty, for a GOP presidential landslide probably carries with it reaction in Congress.

The Illinois senatorial race between isolationist, Chicago *Tribune*-sponsored C. Wayland "Curly" Brooks (R)

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and internationalist New Dealer Professor Paul Douglas (D) will be a test case. If third-party leaders really carry through their threat to support Brooks and fight Douglas (because the latter favors the Marshall Plan), the fat's in the fire and liberalism's name is mud.

Peak profits. In quiet, scholarly, drawing-room tones the Economic Report of the President tells about growing inflation. Corporation profits in 1947, it notes, were "exceptionally high" . . . "above the levels necessary to furnish incentives" . . . "at approximately peak levels." . . . "Business generally reacted to increases in costs by increasing prices rather than by absorbing them in whole or in part by reducing profits." While this goes on, shortages increase.

It is acknowledged that the oil shortage, which conservationists have predicted for years, is finally here for keeps. Canada, which can act swiftly under her efficient parliamentary system, has quickly restored butter and meat controls, with more to follow.

The Marshall Plan, if enacted, will add to scarcity pressure and further boost prices unless accompanied by federal controls and planning. The third-round wage drive has started. Congress prepares to stimulate inflation by cutting taxes. Looking at all this objectively, can anyone feel sure that Moscow's expectation of a capitalistic bust in America won't occur?

Notes. Drew Pearson, in May, 1946, said that Senator Elmer Thomas (D. Okla.) was speculating in cotton at a time when he was chairman of the Agriculture Committee and could influence prices. Thomas called Pearson a chronic liar. Now the facts disclose steady Thomas speculation through his wife's name. . . . The Navy regards Arabian oil as the greatest strategic stake in the world. . . . Budget officials estimate that one year's inflation has added $1.5 billion to $2 billion to the latest budget. . . . Congress probably won't pass UMT this session; very likely not at all.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

THE WEEK

FIGURES don't lie, and this week the figures are gloomy. The President plans to spend $39 billion; Iowa may market up to 35 percent less meat; it was 80 above in mild California, 19 in sunny Tallahassee, 25 below in Minnesota and, by executive order, 68 above in government buildings.

Both Truman's $1,704,607 and Knutson's $1,534,024 probably looks like too much income tax to the man who is going to earn two million dollars, and all in all the only cheerful figure on the scene seems to be that cut by Miss Barbara Ann Scott of Canada as she won the European figure-skating title in Prague.

IT'S HAPPENING HERE

Warning. Albert Einstein, the man who first suggested the atomic bomb to President Roosevelt in August, 1939, last week felt compelled to warn his fellow citizens about the decay of our traditional civilian control of the military in atomic-age America.

Along with 20 other educators, farm-group leaders, clergy and retired government officials, Einstein declared flatly that "Not only are military men moving into key positions in government, but the Army and Navy are extending their influence into science, education and industry."

The group pointed out that General Marshall, with his military entourage at the State Department, "conducts his foreign policy as a soldier would do in dealing with an enemy."

The Army has a heavy hand on many colleges through research grants, student-training programs and payment of part of teachers' salaries.

The Army's plans for Universal Military Training and industrial mobilization make it a prospective controlling factor in the life of every citizen. This was the pattern of the fascist states before the war. Einstein and his distinguished colleagues find "the same pattern already exists in large measure in our own land."

Train Ticket

WHEN the shiny streamliner rolled into New Orleans, lined up at the station was a gayly dressed flock of Negro children from the Booker T. Washington School. In their anxiety to climb aboard, the excited, chattering youngsters surged up to the nearest car and jammed the entrance.

While two Negro teachers tried to unsnarl them, a third asked a nearby policeman for assistance. Police Sergeant Victor Barberot replied by shoving the man, and when the other teachers came up to ask what the matter was, Barberot arrested the trio for failure to "move along." The trial is set for this week.

The place of arrest: just outside the Freedom Train.

ROMANCE AND INTRIGUE

Poor Mike. First moves will soon be made to build up exiled King Michael of Rumania as a romantic, heroic, sympathetic figure, ONA reports from London. Behind the action is an elaborate, old-fashioned Balkan intrigue to put the young king on a phony throne-in-exile and use him as spearhead of US-financed, British-backed, anti-Soviet fifth-column activities in the Balkans.

The first step probably will be either Michael's marriage to Princess Anne of Bourbon-Parma or his reconciliation with his father, ex-King Carol. The main outlines of the scheme were sketched in London during Michael's attendance at the Royal Wedding. There he conferred with Rumanian royalist exiles, Winston Churchill and other British and US bigwigs. Then he had a secret meeting with his father in Switzerland.

The chief wire-pullers are four former Rumanian diplomats, now in the US. The big money will come from Anglo-US oil interests.

Sucker Lists

Berlin (NR correspondent)

BIZONIA'S newest racket is selling names and addresses of Americans to Germans, who then write letters begging for food parcels. The average rate for a 10-name list is around $1.

This flourishing business has put an astronomical value on US phone books; the current Manhattan directory would yield about $45,000. The biggest prize: a recent *Who's Who*.

THE BRASS BAND

Snag. President Truman has been following for some time a policy of putting military men into top-level administrative jobs. Civil posts turned over to big brass already include the Secretary of State, several of his chief aides, the Ambassador to the Soviet Union, the chairmen of the Foreign Liquidation Commission and the Federal Works Agency.

But this policy has finally hit a snag. The Senate Armed Services Committee balked at the nomination of Major General Laurence S. Kuter to succeed James M. Landis as chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. The reason is that Kuter, 42, protégé of General H. H. Arnold, wanted to keep his active army status and pay ($15,144), rather than try to subsist on CAB pay ($10,000). Unanimously, and as a matter of principle, the committee refused to approve a special bill that would have made possible the doubling in brass.

But Truman's policy isn't dead. No

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one in Washington expects the powerful forces that are determined to put US civil life on a war footing to be stopped by a few Senators. The "line" of the pro-military forces was suggested in *This Week* by General "Hap" Arnold. He wrote, "We must change many other old ideas and fit them to the concept of modern war. Our commercial airlines, for example, form a very important part of our whole reserve system. We must keep our airlines healthy and strong, because we may need them in a hurry. . . ."

Time to Talk about ERP

THE MARSHALL PLAN'S main political asset in Congress right now is the personal prestige of the man for whom it is named. Otherwise, political forces are beginning to group themselves in a way ominous to the European Recovery Program.

In the first place, Congress is approaching ERP so slowly that passage may not come for many months. Even then the program may be altered beyond recognition.

On both crucial matters of timing and quantity Secretary of State George C. Marshall was extremely forthright when he appeared as first witness at Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings. "Either undertake to meet the requirements of the problem or don't undertake it at all," he said. He also warned against delay.

The Senators listened politely. Their most significant comment was by action. A few days later 20 Republican Senators, all either opposed to the Marshall Plan or doubtful, held a private meeting to take over party leadership on the matter from Senator Arthur Vandenberg (Mich.), who is irrevocably committed to ERP.

The new bloc includes Majority Leader Kenneth S. Wherry (Nebr.), C. Wayland Brooks (Ill.), Joseph H. Ball (Minn.) and William F. Knowland (Calif.), who agreed they should act as a continuing "committee" to push their own European plan. They will doubtless end up as Senate sponsors of the House's Herter Plan for administering European aid—that is, by forming a government corporation, independent of the State Department and dominated by Republican businessmen. Which is very disheartening news for Europe.

The Administration refuses to be discouraged by this development. Not until middle-of-the-roaders, such as Republican Senators Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.), Raymond E. Baldwin (Conn.), John S. Cooper (Ky.) and Ralph E. Flanders (Vt.), start swinging over to the Herter idea will they concede that the Marshall Plan is losing ground. Still, the Administration is trying to play it as safe as possible, which may account, as London reports indicate, for cancellation of an immediate meeting by the 16 Marshall Plan nations.

As far as timing goes, Vandenberg continues to talk about finishing Senate hearings on ERP by February 1, but nobody takes him seriously in view of the way Senate-committee members question witnesses. On the House side, things are even slower. The House Foreign Affairs Committee announced that henceforth hearings will be on a three-day-week basis, with morning sessions only.

Note. How high Marshall rates with Congress was demonstrated vividly the day President Truman delivered his State of the Union message to a joint session. Arriving late, Marshall did not march into the House chamber with the rest of the cabinet, but slipped into a side seat inconspicuously. When cabinet colleagues spotted him they forced him to take the most prominent seat, while members of the House and Senate stood to give him a thunderous ovation. The applause for President Truman, who entered a moment later, was a polite smattering by comparison. W. W.

AUX ARMES, CITOYENS!

Advice. Merwin K. Hart, one of the US's more literate reactionaries, maintains an organization known as the National Economic Council. This outfit gets out a news letter which is against almost everything—Communists, New Dealers, Zionists, the United Nations, supporters of the bipartisan foreign policy and, quite frankly, democracy.

Last week Hart, evidently feeling the Red Menace closing in, advised his readers "to possess himself of one or more guns, making sure that they are in good condition, that he and other members of his family know how to use them, and that he has a reasonable supply of ammunition."

The newspaper *PM* made this news by unearthing the fact that the council's prospectus lists as directors Charles G. Dawes, former Vice President and director of RCA; John J. Raskob, vice-president of du Pont and director of General Motors; O. A. Taylor, vice-president of S. H. Kress; and as council directors Professor William Starr Myers of Princeton and Alexander W. Armour, an executive of the Rockefeller Foundation.

"BUSINESS PROPOSITION"

OTTAWA (NR correspondent)

Guns. The Canadian government describes its latest shipment of $1.2 million worth of war supplies to Chiang Kai-shek as "a purely business proposition," but at the same time it declines to discuss details of the transaction. The officials involved have "clammed up" at the request of the Chinese purchasing mission in Ottawa.

Chiang is getting the equipment, which includes 170 Mosquito bombers plus weapons and ammunition, as part of the $25 million loan agreed upon last February as a continuation of Canada's wartime lend-lease pact with

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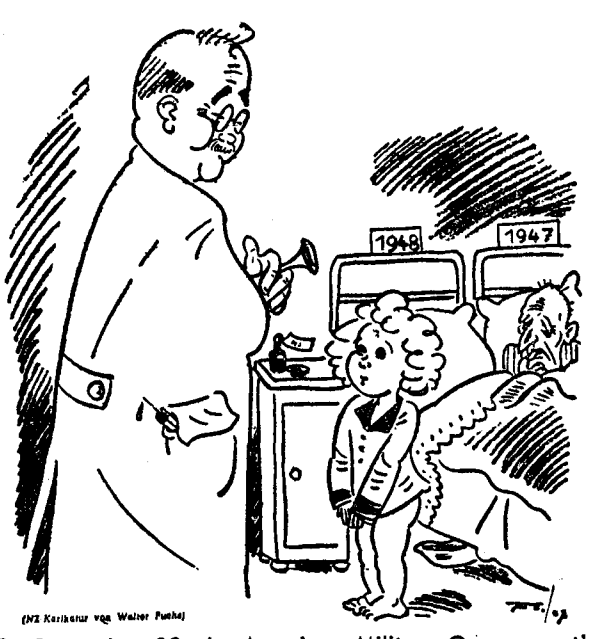
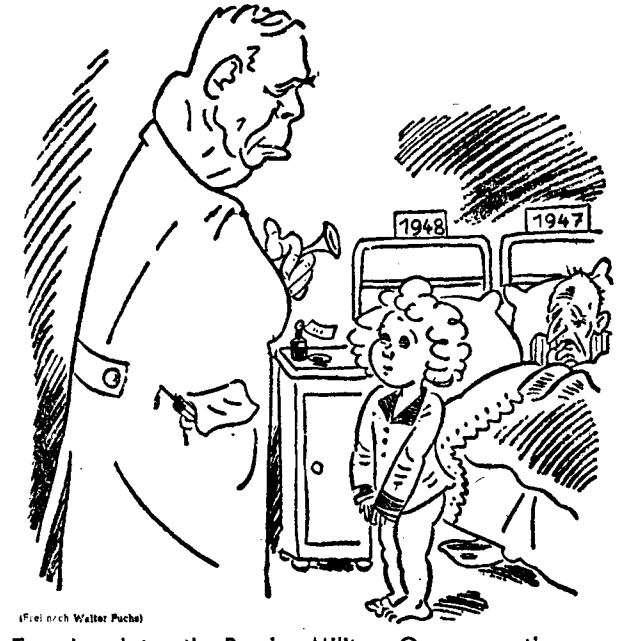
THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLATTERY



On December 29, the American Military Government's official German language newspaper in Berlin, *Die Neue Zeitung*, published this cartoon in which little Miss 1948 is pleading: "Dr. Molotov, couldn't you give me better sedatives than you gave Mister 1947?" The cartoon was credited to Walter Fuchs.



Two days later, the Russian Military Government's newspaper, *Taegliche Rundschau*, printed this cartoon, in which Molotov's overcoat has sprouted a new head and Miss 1948 is saying: "Dr. Marshall, couldn't you give me better sedatives than you gave Mister 1947?" The cartoon credit-line reads "after Walter Fuchs."

China. Under the agreement, Canada has already dispatched two shiploads of war surplus from Montreal and one from Vancouver.

This kind of "business" drew a short-lived protest from the Vancouver Labor Council, which posted pickets at docks where the arms were being loaded. But the demonstration petered out when the Canadian Congress of Labor ruled that picketing was in violation of union contracts.

FRANCO'S DEFENDER

BUENOS AIRES (NR correspondent)

Dissent. Those Argentines who publicly object to the repressive methods of Spain's Generalissimo Francisco Franco usually end up in jail. Last week President Juan Peron imprisoned 171 liberals who had planned to protest Franco's summary execution of two Spanish underground members, Lucas Nuno Bao and Agustin Zoroa Sanchez.

The arrested citizens, many of them women, were seized by the police as they were preparing to parade before the Spanish Embassy. Shortly thereafter the Buenos Aires chief of police announced that each of the offenders had been sentenced to 15 days in jail, for "misdemeanor."

NO VICTORY

Side step. The Supreme Court decision in favor of a 28-year-old Negro girl, Ada Lois Sipuel, has gained her admission to the University of Oklahoma Law School, but it is far from a victory over the segregated school systems which prevail in 17 Southern states and in the District of Columbia.

Two years ago Miss Sipuel was graduated from the all-Negro Langston University with the necessary credits to enter the University of Oklahoma for law training. But the Board of Regents turned down her request because of a state law forbidding Negroes to attend white schools, and vice versa.

When the girl's case reached the Supreme Court last week, it looked as if the Justices might come forward with a precedent-setting decision which would strike hard at the segregation principle. For two days, they shot unfriendly questions at the Oklahoma attorney, asking him if Miss Sipuel wasn't being deprived of her constitutional rights, etc.

Anticlimax. But after all the discussion, the Court's decision was simply a one-page restatement of a 1938 ruling that a Negro is "entitled to be admitted to the law school of the state university in the absence of other and proper provision for his legal training within the state."

In other words, Miss Sipuel will attend school, not because the Oklahoma law is invalid, but because the state has not provided any separate Negro institution where she can get training equal to what she would receive at the uni-

Three-Point Landing

BELL AIRCRAFT CORPORATION, manufacturers of P-39's, helicopters and rocket planes, has come back to earth with a bump. In an effort to diversify output, the corporation announces it is now producing a gasoline-powered wheelbarrow.

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versity. And until the Supreme Court throws out this ancient "separate-but-equal" rule, the South's state-owned institutions can continue their segregation tradition.

MINOR SETBACK

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

Appeal. Circuit Court Judge Jacob Berkowitz has barred the newly formed Illinois Progressive Party from the November ballot, but party officials are appealing the decision on the advice of the judge himself.

State laws give a party ballot recognition if it polls five percent of the vote in an election. The Progressive vote in last fall's Cook County judicial elections was 313,000, considerably more than the required percentage, but Berkowitz ruled that only results of a general election would be considered relevant. He admits that there is no precedent for the verdict.

The pro-Wallace Progressives will undoubtedly be officially recognized, however, no matter what happens to their appeal, since they need only 25,000 signatures to get on the ballot via the petition method.

SLEEPING BEAUTY

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

Symbol. Beniamino Bufano is a fiery little sculptor whose work has crossed every palm in the United States—he designed the buffalo on the nickel. When he isn't pounding granite, Bufano gives speeches on such questions as the war in China and the need for 50-cent symphony-concert tickets. Now he has come up with a symbol for Henry Wallace and the third party, in the form of a 30-foot statue named "Peace."

The sculptor suggests that the steel and stone monument (of a woman in long, flowing robes) be made the design for campaign buttons, insignia, pamphlets, etc. The Independent Progressive Party in California is interested in the idea and may rescue "Peace" from a local warehouse where it has gathered dust since the outbreak of World War II.

The Democrats Win

Rome (ONA correspondent)

PAOLA GALEAZZI and his wife read the Rome newspapers carefully for news about America. As a result, the police were forced to haul Paola off to jail recently for throwing crockery at the signora during a hot discussion over who was President of the United States—General Eisenhower or Senator Taft.

The district police captain assigned his brightest lieutenant to talk things over and explain US politics to Paola during his 10-day stay in jail. When Paola finished his sentence, the captain asked him if he knew now who was President. Paola answered yes, General Marshall had the job.

HOW THE HUNTS LIVE

Parlor . . . The trailer town where Dick Hunt, his wife, Beth, and their nine-month-old baby live in State College, Pennsylvania, is not much different from the others that fringe the campuses of American universities nowadays. The Hunts, like 500 other students in their particular trailer town, live on a GI subsistence allowance of $90 per month while Dick goes to school.

The matter of just how well the Hunts are getting along on that $90 is coming up at this session of Congress. The last session ducked the issue. It will be hard to duck again.

The Hunts rent their trailer for $30 a month, which leaves $60 for three persons to live on the rest of the month. According to the BLS, groceries for a couple and one small child cost $54 per month at a level slightly above bare subsistence.

Dick Hunt, an ex-lieutenant of Army Engineers, who saw Saipan, Okinawa and the Philippines, is taking as many university courses as the pressure of work allows. He has to do odd jobs—ditchdigging, sign-painting, gardening—in order to feed his family.

Trailer life is not exactly luxurious, even when he scrapes together enough cash for food. The nearest bathroom, shared with 16 other families, is a block away, and has four washbowls, three stools, one tub and one shower. Hot water must be carried from the bathroom to the trailer for dishwashing and the baby's bath. Drinking water must be carried from a hydrant even farther away.

Inside the trailer, living-as-usual is attempted by making one corner the master bedroom, one the nursery, one the study and the fourth a living room. One end of the middle aisle is the kitchen, the other end is dining space. A cabinet behind the dining table is called "the attic."

The icebox leaks, the drainboard does not drain into the sink. The sink has no faucets. The kerosene cook stove starts with a three-foot flame that scorches everything nearby. The gasoline heating stove has only one speed; when the trailer gets too hot the stove must be turned off instead of just turned down.

That kind of living is what a militant group of amateur lobbyists were talking about last week when they turned up in congressional office buildings. Representing a variety of veterans' organizations throughout the country, the lobbyists called their campaign Operation Subsistence. Their target was passage of a bill to increase subsistence allowances to $125 per month for married veterans, $100 for single veterans.

A bill tending in this direction has been introduced by Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R, Mass.), chairman of the House Veterans Committee. At the last session Mrs. Rogers tried desperately to bring the bill to a vote, but economy-talking Republicans and strangely silent Democrats prevented action. The total cost would be about $250 million. In an election year the veterans lobbying for Operation Subsistence think their chances are better than they were last summer.

BACK TO "GOOD OLD DAYS"

Heil! Just after the end of World War II, 53 percent of Germans polled in the US zone of occupation thought Nazism was a "good idea, badly carried out." In July, 1946, the percentage was 42. Now, ONA reports, it has risen to 55 in the US zone; 60 in Hamburg, under British control.

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REPORT ON THE PCA CONVENTION

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

THE Progressive Citizens of America is ready for swift-moving events. In the last year, the PCA has laid the hull and supervised the launching of the new party Henry Wallace has chosen to head in 1948. Now it proposes to stand back and see what other able-bodied independents will sign on the new craft. From here on, the PCA is prepared to assume as large or as small a position in the new Wallace movement as the occasion demands, state by state and month to month.

Almost every top Washington political correspondent made the trip to Chicago for the PCA meeting. To most of them it was an unimpressive affair, a bunch of enthusiastic "nobodys" carrying on as if they were real politicians.

At the daily press conferences, correspondents and PCA spokesmen argued with each other—on the validity of three-way congressional races, the ratio of Czechoslovakian trade, and Greek-army tactics. Regular parties were never like this.

They heard stories of the Los Angeles delegation practising their financial technique on the way to the convention by inviting their train companions to a Wallace meeting in the diner, courtesy of the dining-car steward, and raising almost enough money to cover the delegation's fares.

Wallace speaks. And the 446 delegates from 25 state PCA chapters were startlingly single-minded. There was no choice between the two major parties. A vote for either, they resolved, "is a vote for higher prices and a vote for depression . . . against free American labor . . . to police thought and speech . . . against the popular welfare and security. Henry Wallace offers the only alternative." A people's party was the only way, and they would lead it.

Wallace's own speech to the convention was just what the delegates wanted. Everyone knew where he stood on peace by now. What they needed was a rousing labor appeal. His well prepared statement gave them plenty of ammunition.

Truman is faking, Wallace accused, on his opposition to the Taft-Hartley Act, to inflation—perhaps even to war itself. Unlike Truman, he would repeal Taft-Hartley, not bemoan it; roll back prices out of profits; seek peace, not record-breaking armaments and UMT.

The delegates pelted him with confetti and had their first taste of marching around a convention hall. With Paul Robeson leading, they sang themselves into a mood to toss $3,327.83 into bed sheets that were spread in the aisles. A dinner for moneyed Chicagoans netted more than $30,000. Then they turned to serious planning for the future.

Plans. They approved a platform for at least their part of the Wallace movement, singling out the same targets Wallace himself has been bombarding for months past.

Inflation, monopoly, attacks on our civil rights will rank high as campaign issues. And the PCA showed its willingness to break with many progressives in opposing the Marshall Plan.

Organizationally, local PCA's will concentrate first on building "an all-inclusive progressive coalition" to form the new party and carry on the campaign in every state. The PCA sees itself as only one member of this "broad people's movement."

The first job for the enlarged group will be to "secure a place on the ballot for Henry Wallace in every state of the union." In some states this can be done through immediate organization of a new party, the PCA thinks. In others, the laws permit only an independent candidacy.

The PCA convention voted each state chapter the power to decide for itself whether to merge, affiliate or just coöperate with the new parties and committees for Wallace that will be formed. It authorized sending delegates to another conference on April 12 which is to lay plans for actual organization of the new party.

The next step will be formation of a Wallace-for-President Committee, probably headed by former Governor Elmer Benson of Minnesota. Top personnel for the labor, Negro, women's and research divisions is already lined up. PCA director, "Beanie" Baldwin, is expected to serve as campaign manager.

Every state delegation confidently said that it would be able to make a good showing for the new party locally—if it had the money. PCA staff people have been accustomed to getting along on almost no money, going without salaries for long stretches at a time. But they know you can't win elections that way. They need to plan now on how much they will have to spend, but national PCA headquarters can't tell them because it does not yet know how much CIO support the Wallace campaign will actually get.

The main issue. Perhaps the most important single campaign problem was left unresolved. What is to be the policy in congressional races?

Will the new party refuse to support any regular-party candidate who has backed the Marshall Plan?

Will it concentrate on electing the most progressive possible Congress next year and therefore enter third candidates only where absolutely necessary? Or will it put the building of an organization for 1952 first, and therefore make three-way congressional races the rule rather than the exception? The PCA defers this basic decision to the local groups.

The PCA, Wallace has estimated, is less than one percent of his support. The one percent is now ready for the other 99 to get to work too.

HELEN FULLER

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LABOR'S THIRD ROUND: Reports of NR Correspondents

NR correspondents around the country report this week on labor's third-round plans. These include the strategy of leaders of the major unions and the growing resentment of the rank and file over the zooming profits that spark the high-cost-of-living inflationary rocket. The NR auto-industry report comes from Detroit; coal from Washington; building trades from New York; machinery trades from San Francisco; mine, mill and smelter trades from Chicago.

The Auto Worker

DETROIT (NR correspondent)

AT THE END of the war, Joe Auto Worker had an average nest egg of $400 in bonds and cash tucked under the mattress for a rainy day. A year later, the average savings of the auto worker had been reduced to an estimated $38. Today this reserve has completely disappeared in the price spiral. The workers in the industry are living from hand to mouth.

After winning first-round wage increases of 18.5 cents an hour and second-round increases of 15 cents, then seeing these gains lost in subsequent price rises, many workers were partly convinced last year that perhaps the industry's bargain-table argument was correct: increased wages only mean increased prices, so why make demands? But this attitude changed when the workers saw figures revealing that profits of eight auto corporations (not including Ford) in 1947 were $450 million after taxes. This amounted a return of 22.2 percent on their capitalization.

The auto worker, more economically minded than he has been since 1940, is convinced that despite any effect higher wages may have on prices, he must fight to maintain his own standard of living. Evidence of such a ground swell from the rank and file was the action of five General Motors locals in Flint (the cradle of the UAW) in demanding a 25-cent hourly wage boost.

This action was quickly echoed by five other GM locals in Pontiac and Detroit, and unanimously by the giant Ford Local 600, with its 63,000 members. It was variously interpreted as a left-wing move to embarrass UAW president Walter P. Reuther and as a move inspired by Reuther to lead off in the CIO on wage demands.

But apparently it was really a genuine grass-roots action prompted by a 10-day GM holiday layoff and the simultaneous publication of Bureau of Labor Statistics figures showing that a worker's family of four, which spent at the rate of $2,813 annually in March, 1946, had to have $3,293, or 17 percent more, in June, 1947, to maintain the same standard of living in Detroit.

All agree. A special meeting of the UAW-CIO International Executive Board was held in Detroit on January 15, and it was unanimously agreed by the 22-member body that a 30-cent increase would immediately be demanded of the industry. This includes a wage increase of 25 cents and an additional five cents for hospitalization, health, medical and surgical insurance. A guaranteed 40-hour week is requested and three weeks' vacation instead of two for workers with five years' seniority. Pensions are left to local union discretion.

Auto workers' wages, which until recent years led the nation (coal is now tops), will require a 25.1-cent increase by May, says the union, to restore June, 1946, buying power. It is emphasized by the union that any variations up or down in BLS living-cost figures between now and May will be taken into consideration in final contract agreements made with management.

"All we want to do is catch up," says Reuther. "The auto corporations can give us a 25-cent increase and still make a 12.5-percent return on their investment."

First step. Chrysler, whose contract with the UAW permits the union to reopen wage discussions once during its duration, is expected to be notified immediately that the union wishes to adjust wage questions. Because of this clause in the contract, it has been rumored that Chrysler, instead of GM, would be the bellwether for the industry this year.

But General Motors, the "reluctant dragon" in the annual wage battle in the industry, will continue to set the pace on wage rates and perhaps even call the turn on all industrial rates. Chrysler is primarily a Detroit company, and any agreement, it is argued, would merely have to be repeated with GM, which is spread throughout the country with 100 plants and 5,000 suppliers.

GM will be requested to open negotiations on February 28, 60 days before the expiration of its contract. The NLRB will be asked by the UAW to hold union-shop elections in GM plants before the middle of April, as required by the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

It might be well to mention again that the auto industry, particularly GM as the largest manufacturer, has long been the proving ground for new techniques in industrial unionism—the sit-down, the slowdown, mass picket lines, foremen's unions, plant-democracy unions, portal-to-portal pay, union democracy and the "open-the-company-books" policy.

It is not expected that a strike will develop this year over wage demands. The industry made its largest profits in 1947 and is eager to cash in this year without rocking the boat. It does

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not relish the negative effects of having a long-term feud aired in the nation's press at this time. Nor is Reuther, a member in good standing of the Truman camp, expected to endanger Democratic Party chances in an election year if it can be avoided.

Industry spokesmen wishfully express the hope and belief that Reuther, having now achieved his six years' goal of top leadership in the UAW as a young, militant, aggressive leader, will enter a new phase as a labor statesman and center his attention on newer, more challenging fields. They have resigned themselves to being a sounding board for his ideas on all social, economic and political problems. His "open-the-books" demand will again be the theme this year.

"Shadow boxers." Dopesters figure that the industry will counter with an 8-to-12-cent wage offer and that, after the proper interval of the traditional table pounding that characterizes auto-wage talks, the final settlement will be between 15 and 18 cents. Reuther says the wage demands are purely a UAW matter and represent no coördinated action with the United Steelworkers or the United Electrical Workers.

"We will make every effort to negotiate on the basis of facts," Reuther says, "and if management meets us in good faith, we have an opportunity to make a real contribution to economic stability and avert a serious economic depression. This country is much closer to disaster than people realize. Unless we correct the present trend in wages, prices and profits, we can fold up in the next 14 or 15 months—in fact, right after election.

"Industry continues with single-minded purpose in greedy pursuit of the ever increasing profits of inflation without regard for the welfare of its workers or the economic future of the nation or the world. Republican and Democratic Parties alike continue to shadowbox with inflation while doing nothing to alleviate the cruel hardships which it imposes on the American people."

ANDREW BISHOP

Mine, Mill and Smelter

CHICAGO (INR correspondent)

THE International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, CIO, is a democratic and lusty union. With 115,000 members in locals scattered from the Mexican border to the Arctic Circle, it joined the battle for the third round of postwar wage increases, after its president, John Clark, published a statement in the union paper the other day: "The last Congress, through cancellation of price control, took out of each worker's pocket $500 this past year. What is the answer to this? Can we continue to negotiate higher wages to compete with higher living costs, and allow reactionaries in Congress to negate these hard-won gains?"

The union leadership thinks not. It has called for intensified political activity to "discard the now combined Democratic-Republican machine and again put the people back into power in Washington."

Political action is a long-range goal. Right now, the purse strings of union members are being stretched taut as the dollar shrinks. Last year Mine, Mill received a 15-cents-per-hour increase. Then, it looked pretty good. In the light of present-day cost-of-living statistics, however, the union knows that it has lost ground in the fight to keep the ordinary worker's pay commensurate with the price of milk or butter. Whatever increase Mine, Mill asks for in the third-round bargainings, you can be certain that it will be more than 15 cents an hour.

Out of balance. The Bureau of Labor Statistics' weekly budget for a family of four in San Francisco is $63.79; the average wage in the smelting industry is only $54.20—$9.59 per week less than the minimum requirements for health and decency. The BLS estimates that a budget of $62.69 is necessary for a similar family in Baltimore; yet the average wage of $54.20 is $8.49 below the BLS figure.

Other figures tell the story even more dramatically. The average wage in the lead and zinc industry was $48.16 in January, 1945. By September, 1947, it had risen to $56.67. But that $56.67 was worth only $43.96 in terms of 1945 purchasing power.

Mine, Mill is approaching the problem in two ways. By political action, the union is attempting to put the brakes on the cost of living. Through negotiations, which will begin in March, it hopes to bring about a more favorable wage-cost ratio.

On the basis of cold figures the companies ought to be able to scrape together the money to raise wages. The American Smelting and Refining Company—by no means the largest in the industry—had a net profit of $20 million for the first six months of 1947. The company declared a $5 cash dividend, equal to the highest in its history, and in addition passed out a 20-percent stock dividend.

ROBERT SCHWARTZ

John L. Lewis' Miners

WASHINGTON (INR correspondent)

WHEN John L. Lewis pulled his 600,000 United Mine Workers out of the AFL last month, he wasn't able at the same time to disaffiliate them from the economic facts of life. Each miner is up against the same price inflation and the same disappearance of his personal savings that are the common worry of US workers in 1948. The miner sees, too, that he is caught in a squeeze at a time when his employer is benefiting from greater production and the most profitable business in his history.

On the basis of statistics the miner might appear to be better off than his fellow worker in industry. Last July, the UMW got a boost of 31.5 cents an

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hour, compared with the general nationwide "pattern" of from 15 to 20 cents. Today, the mine worker's weekly wage is, on the average, about $20 higher than wages in manufacturing industries. However, the miner faces above-average expenses.

His living costs in a small, remote mining town are even higher than in the big cities. The miner's family traditionally is larger than the national average (five and six children are common), and in the small communities where mining is generally the only industry, miners' wives and older children have less opportunity to help the family income by taking outside jobs.

Last year's wage raises merely helped to overtake the 1946-47 jumps in the cost of living. Now miners' earnings have fallen behind again—by a good 20 percent, UMW spokesmen estimate unofficially.

Miners also face hazards that are unknown in general industry. In addition to the shortage of railroad cars, which has often cut down hours of work because the coal couldn't be moved, the UMW points out there are 55,000 accidents a year in the industry, averaging a work loss of 40 days.

More coal profits. The UMW quotes high living costs and the statistics of an accident-ridden industry, in which many men don't work a full year, in answer to BLS figures. These show that an urban family of four persons needs $3,004 to $3,458 a year to live, while earnings in bituminous coal mines average about $70 a week. The UMW also points to profit and production figures. After the 1947 contract, the wartime work week of six days was reduced to five. Average hours worked per week declined about 10 percent, and yet coal dug per man per week did not fall off by an equal amount. By the end of the year the miners had exceeded their 1944 record of 620 million tons of bituminous coal dug.

Under the 1947 contract, the miners' wages went up about 8.7 percent, but the wholesale price of coal rose 17.2 percent. These are government figures. The UMW estimates that wages boosted coal costs at the mine about 55 cents a ton, whereas the actual price increase was from 95 cents to more than $2.50 a ton. The 1947 profit figures of the mines have not been published, but the UMW says the owners are making from 50 cents to $3 a ton, which, when multiplied by the record production, amounts to a very satisfying operation.

About a month before the present contract expires on June 30, the 250-man UMW policy board will meet in Washington to work out new demands. If no contract results by the deadline, the miners will simply begin their customary "holiday" until the boys can get together in Washington. One sharp point of difference may be Lewis' demand at the December meeting of the miners' health and welfare-fund trustees. Lewis proposed a $1,200-a-year pension for miners who reach the age of 60 after 20 years in the mines. The industry claims the present fund royalty of 10 cents per ton would have to be upped to 40 cents to pay for the plan. The UMW says this is "wildly exaggerated."

Everything to lose. Just as last year, nobody really wants a work stoppage—the loss of wages and profits would be too great. The Northern operators, who are closely affiliated with steel and other great manufacturing industries, will think in terms of costly shutdowns all along the US production line. The Southern operators, an unregenerate crew who might like to fight old John L. with their shiny new Taft-Hartley weapon, will likewise be swayed by their own pocketbooks. They don't want to lose their profitable Northern markets.

Electrical workers, auto workers and others will have presented, and probably have settled, their wage demands before the UMW comes to bat. And again this year it may well be in the cards for John L. to hit a two-bagger to their single. JAN HASBROUCK

Building Trades

NEW YORK (NR correspondent)

FOR the 1.5 million building-trades workers in the country, organized in 19 AFL craft unions, this is only the second round. Building-construction workers fell one round behind during the war when a three-way wage-stabilization agreement, involving contractors, unions and the federal government on defense projects, froze all wages. The agreement also excluded the building trades from benefits under the Little Steel formula.

In December, 1946, workers in the industry finally won their first increases since 1939 when the US Wage Adjustment Board applied the Little Steel formula and granted increases approximating 15 percent.

The second drive for higher wages, which is almost completed in such large centers as metropolitan New York, won't in any way approximate the increases demanded by some of the more aggressive and militant unions in the CIO. The increases average five percent. For one thing, the AFL building crafts are a conservative lot and move slowly and cautiously. For another, agreements are usually negotiated on a city-by-city basis between the employers and the unions, and no national pattern is likely to emerge as in the case of the auto, mining or steel industries.

Because of the decentralized nature of the industry, wide disparities exist in wage rates even between single cities and between crafts which require essentially the same amount of skill. Such disparities won't be eliminated until the AFL Building Trades Department can overcome its philosophy of narrow craft unionism and think more in terms of a national pattern.

Playing safe. Labor officials, like employers in the industry, are stabilization-minded. They feel that the im-

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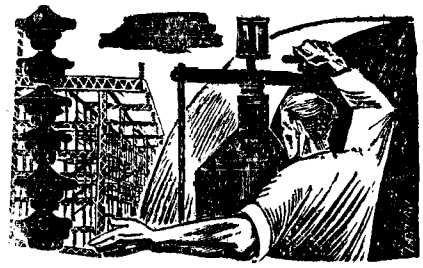

DRAWINGS BY LANDAU

portant thing is to nail down present wage scales and working conditions as a standard which can't be lowered once the building boom has run its course and another depression hits the industry. On the other side, contractors want to stabilize costs so that they can go to work on building projects which have been delayed because of cost uncertainties.

Another factor which conditions the thinking of labor leaders in the industry is the fact that the earnings of building-trades workers still are ahead of most other workers. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, average weekly earnings in private building construction were $66.14 in October, or $1.73 on an hourly basis. Union leaders also point out that present scales are being exceeded by bonus payments offered by contractors as an inducement to get better workers. In Washington, D. C., for instance, where the going rate for bricklayers has been $18.75 a day, contractors have been offering from $26 to $29 a day through ads in the local newspapers.

Cost-of-living factor. But labor people in the building trades, like other trade unionists, are worried about the effects of inflation on the worker's dollar. It has been that concern with rising living costs that has retarded any widespread movement for a stabilization agreement for the industry.

The wage feature of the New York master pact, which may become a pattern for other large cities, is keyed to the cost of living. Initiated last summer, the stabilization idea got nowhere until the contractors were willing to concede that prices and living costs may go even higher.

The agreement, to run until June, 1950, so far covers 27 of 38 unions in the area, affecting some 250,000 out of 325,000 workers, and has been worked out along the lines of the Little Steel formula. Workers are to receive increases averaging about five percent when the master agreement goes into effect February 1. Wages are to be frozen until July 1, 1949, and may not be increased even then unless there is a rise of more than 15 percent in the cost of living.

New York's unions have set the pace for others in the building trades in the past. If any wage drive emerges elsewhere, it probably will be based on the New York agreement.

BEN YABLONKY

Machinists

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

AT THE TOP, the Machinists (IAM, independent) is the only big union on the Coast taking immediate action on a third round of wage increases. But at the bottom, among union members, there's a lot going on. When the big CIO contracts come up again, this unrest will be felt in demands for wage increases.

The basic cause for both the Machinists' present moves and the general unrest is—stew meat at 80 cents a pound. The cost of living is bounding up so fast that no sooner does a union man begin to get a little more pay than he finds himself worse off than before.

Notices have been sent by the Machinists to 700 employers in the Bay area, with whom they hold closed-shop contracts, that they are going to open negotiations for wage increases and improved holiday and vacation clauses when contracts are discussed next month.

The same thing goes for the whole Pacific Coast and the 11 Western states, according to Anthony Ballerini, business manager and strong man of the Machinists in San Francisco.

"I don't know where they get this stuff about 'rounds'," said Ballerini. "With us, it's simply a question of trying to exist. And I don't see how the average union member is doing it right now. I get $107 a week as an official and I can't make ends meet. The average wage for our union men is $1.23 an hour. That's $49 a week, but his take-home pay is little more than $40 a week. How's a man with kids expected to live on that?"

The Machinists will bargain for an average 25-percent increase in wages. Since the war, the average wage has gone up a total of 18 cents an hour in two jumps.

"Management says high wages have forced the prices up," Ballerini explodes. "I can't see it. You can't tell me that raises like that have forced lettuce to 28 cents a head and dried beans to 40 cents a pound."

No back talk. The Merchant Manufacturers' Association, to which most of San Francisco's employers of machinists belong, haven't made a counter-statement to the Machinists' notices yet, but they have been saying all along that wages can't go up any more. Ballerini asks, "Why, the metal industries are making more than they ever did in history—what are they complaining about?"

Work is getting scarce too, he says. About 800 machinists are unemployed here. "Washing machines, new furniture, console radios? Hell, our people are spending all they can get on food and still running up bills they can't pay. I can show you plenty of houses where they haven't got a chair to sit in."

The Machinists are launching a full political campaign to get members out to vote. "We're going to elect our friends and defeat our enemies," Ballerini says. He also thinks things would have been different, both on the home scene and internationally, if Roosevelt were still around. ROBIN KINKEAD

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EDITORIAL

Why Labor Can't Wait

AMERICAN LABOR cannot live on promises.

For two years industry has promised to lower prices, the government has promised to stabilize prices, and prices themselves have gone on rising. Labor has fought hard to maintain its wartime living standards—and failed. Most workers have less meat, less coal, fewer new clothes and far lower savings than in June, 1946.

Last year when labor justified its wage demands by the record profits earned in the fourth quarter of 1946, industry replied that the profits couldn't last. But profits in 1947 were $28 billion, $6.9 billion higher than in 1946. To promise once again that prices and profits will fall "some time this year," to ask labor to go on waiting while the 80th Congress plays at politics, won't work.

In March the third round will open, and it should. By force or consent, it will and should bring wage increases. Industry *can* absorb these increases out of excess profits without raising the prices of products such as automobiles, steel and steel products, and electrical machinery: it *can*; but it won't. Left to itself, industry will make consumers pay the wage increases, just as it will make consumers pay this year's increased corporate taxes—through higher prices.

Higher prices bring depression closer. And while the third round will temporarily raise the power of some groups to purchase goods, total demand will fall as the incomes of 5.5 million government workers and other millions with fixed earnings fail to keep pace with rising prices. Instability will increase and unemployment will set in.

No one gains through unemployment. There is a unity of interest among labor, industry and farmers in preventing further inflation. Why is there no common program to postpone wage increases, lower farm prices and cut non-farm prices to levels required for fair profits as an alternative to the wage-price spiral? Not all farmers and workers are organized, and within their organizations they are divided. Industry isn't competitive enough to keep prices down, or monopolistic enough to agree on a course of action. The Republicans dismiss as a low trick the President's excellent proposal to minimize wage increases, without increasing costs, through raising purchasing power by a $40 tax credit. We still have no concept of national interest and no willingness to face the necessity of national planning.

What is the national interest of all Americans in '48?

"The first objective for 1948," President Truman reports, "must be to halt the inflationary trend." In the absence of agreement on a long-range basic program, short-term controls are needed while all groups go their own ways. Is this too much to hope for? The President proposed a ten-point program. The cabinet cut it down, Congress laughed it off, and when the third round opens there will be danger of unconditional surrender to inflation and acceptance of the rule: every man for himself.

But labor's demand is for increased *real* wages. Supporting the third round means strengthening, not abandoning, the struggle to control inflation. The need for legislation is greater than ever.

That is—for real legislation. The President's tenth point called for price control. His price-control bill looks good for the record and bad for consumers. It's hard on wage controls and soft on price controls. It pokes at shadow ceilings for prices. It slams into collective-bargaining principles. It undermines price control by giving Congress the power to choose price ceilings. It undermines the third round by encouraging employers to delay in signing new contracts in the hope that wages will be controlled.

It's true that general price stabilization and wage stabilization go together. In distrust of the 80th Congress, labor has denied this principle. We don't trust this Congress either. But we think labor is wrong.

The only way to fight inflation is to introduce into Congress real legislation covering *all* groups, and to build up support for it.

One starting point is food. Wage increases do not affect food costs, but are made necessary largely by high food prices. Food, which took 30 percent of the wage earner's budget before the war, takes 44 percent today. And in March meat prices are due for a sharp rise. Price control and rationing of meat and grain can hold the prices of meat, bread, butter and milk. A rationing program is outlined in a bill introduced by two liberal Republicans, Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R, Vt.) and Representative Jack Javits (R, N. Y.). Their bill, and not measures for tax relief of the wealthy, is surely the first order of business for the 80th Congress.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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LABOR'S THIRD ROUND

Statistics and union chiefs agree that wages must be upped at least 8 percent to preserve US living standards **by Helen Fuller and William Walton**

AMERICAN LABOR is getting ready to demand a new round of wage increases, its third since the end of the war.

The timing of labor's demand, in a turbulent inflationary period and a presidential-election year, will add one more element of uncertainty to crucial 1948. Long and bitter strikes are probable before the new wage demands are resolved. Labor, as usual when out on strike, will get an unfriendly press and a lambasting in Congress. The main charge will be that labor, by demanding more pay, is giving the wage-price spiral a shot in the arm and thus boosting inflation.

This is a grave charge and one to which labor leaders are sensitive, particularly since the 80th Congress might seize it as an excuse for legislation even more repressive than the Taft-Hartley Act. But after weighing these unpleasant possibilities against the pressure of vastly increased living costs, labor has decided that it has no recourse except to demand wage increases ranging between eight and eighteen percent, the amount it figures real wages have dropped in recent months. ("Real" here means the total wage adjusted for increases in prices and taxes in terms of 1935-39 purchasing power.)

Two big "ifs." Under certain circumstances labor might have been willing to forgo new raises in 1948. *If* there were a definite prospect of strong government controls to check prices and inflation, or *if* business showed willingness to cut either prices or profits, then labor leaders might have asked their rank-and-file members to abstain for a while. Unfortunately, neither set of circumstances seems even remotely possible, so labor is going ahead with its own wage program, a step that is inevitable in an unplanned, freely operating economy.

The result for the nation as a whole cannot yet be pictured in complete detail. There are signs, however, that business, which is indistinguishable from the Republican Party, is going to put up strong resistance, especially in the auto and electrical industries. Thus labor will be made to look unreasonably obstreperous and President Truman may find his electioneering complicated by serious industrial disorder.

As for the justification of labor's case, there is no question that prices have outdistanced wages. The American worker now needs more dollars to meet his daily expenses if he is to maintain his treasured standard of living and if mass purchasing power is to sustain America's high production.

Inflationary prosperity. The unbalanced situation today can best be understood by studying the President's Economic Report to Congress, a singularly enlightening document based on the findings of his Council of Economic Advisers. These three gentlemen—Edwin G. Nourse, Leon H. Keyserling and John D. Clark—have described the United States as a nation bursting with production, full employment and high profits, but also as a nation where inflation, if unchecked, may spoil the dream of plenty for all.

The report finds that employment in 1947, making a new record as it passed 60 million civilian jobs in June, averaged 58 million for the whole year, even with seasonal dips. The number of unemployed dropped in November to 2.2 million, the lowest since the war.

Measured as total physical output, production rose about seven percent above 1946 and 76 percent above the 1935-39 average. Productivity per man-hour also showed a slight increase.

At the same time consumer income, after taxes, also reached a new high. The rise in prices, however, more than offset this higher income because of an eight-percent decline in the purchasing power of the consumer's dollar. *Real wages* have gone down steadily since 1945. The result for consumers—which means you and me—was a drain on savings and the rise of outstanding credit to a new peak, $13.3 billion.

In this year of record highs, business chalked up some for itself. Dividends at $6.4 billion were the highest in history. So were retained corporate earnings—the amount that corporations keep as reserves or plow back into their industries; five-eighths of all profits after taxes were retained, double as much as during the lush war years. Investments in plant equipment and inventories also went up—to $25 billion in 1947 as compared with $21 billion in 1946.

Here's the rub. All of these new highs added up to a year in which the nation's gross production was at an annual rate of $237 billion—some $33 billion more than 1946. But the rub was—and here labor's case begins to become apparent—that consumers' expenditures were $3.5 billion more than the increase in their incomes.

Prices, as every housewife knows, continued their upward spiral. Since June all wholesale prices have risen at an annual rate of 20 percent, retail prices at a rate of 12 percent. Wages also rose in 1947, but were never able to catch up with cost of living.

The vicious cause-and-effect cycle of prices, wages and profits was termed by the Economic Report "a developing process of inflation." And the President, in equally measured terms, observed that, "It not only produced great inequities among our people, but also created the danger of a serious setback."

Labor believes that the danger of a "setback," or depression, is the concern primarily of the government and those who have a chance of controlling economic factors, though labor of course recognizes its own interest and responsibility in the matter. Labor's major concern now is with what the Presi-

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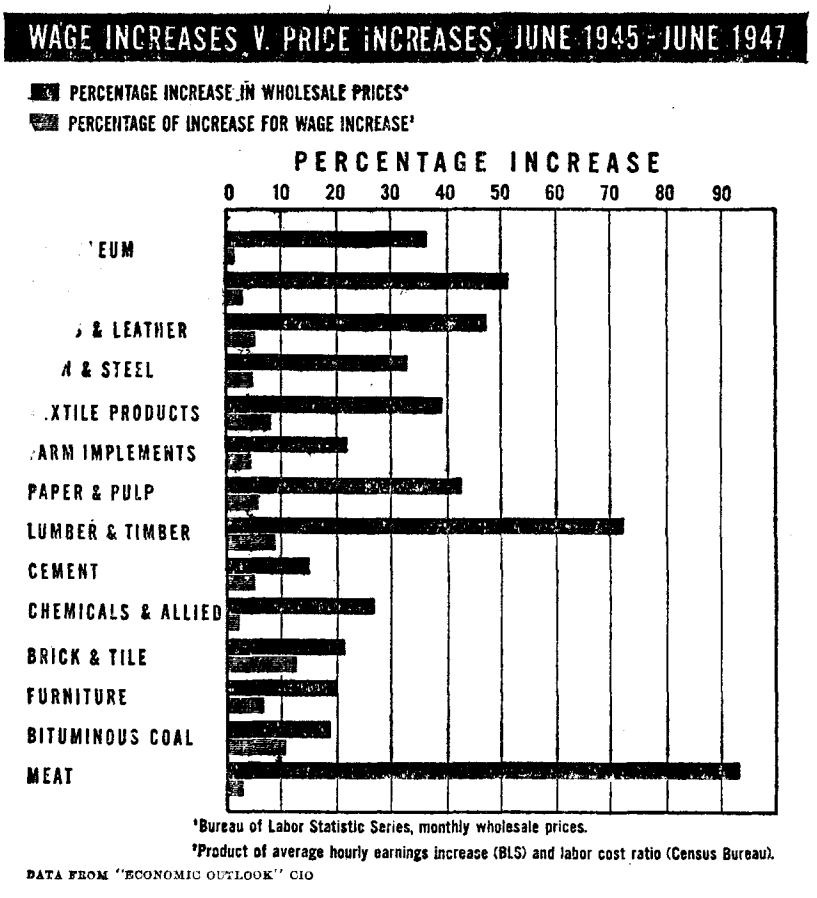
WAGE INCREASES V. PRICE INCREASES, JUNE 1945 - JUNE 1947
PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN WHOLESALE PRICES*
PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE FOR WAGE INCREASE†
PERCENTAGE INCREASE
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LUMBER & TIMBER
CEMENT
CHEMICALS & ALLIED
BRICK & TILE
FURNITURE
BITUMINOUS COAL
MEAT
*Bureau of Labor Statistic Series, monthly wholesale prices.
†Product of average hourly earnings increase (BLS) and labor cost ratio (Census Bureau).
DATA FROM "ECONOMIC OUTLOOK" CIO

dent termed "great inequities among our people."

Labor's economists have prepared highly professional briefs stating the workers' side of the case. But union families don't need charts to tell them how much money is left in their pockets at the end of each week. Last month a labor survey in 11 Eastern cities showed that the cost of 10 basic foods had risen on the average 83 percent since January, 1945. A market basket which averaged $3.07 then, now costs $5.61.

Housewives say the very health of their families is in danger. The government's Bureau of Labor Statistics bears them out. A recent BLS survey showed that an average annual wage of $3,004 is the minimum on which an urban family of four can live in decency. The United Electrical Workers (CIO) report that the average annual wage in their industries is at present $600 short of this amount. And they point out that the government report allows nothing for savings, only a bare minimum for insurance, and underestimates the average consumption of meat and dairy products.

For years, the Heller Committee for Research at the University of California has been considered an unbiased authority on the minimum cost of an adequate standard of living. The most recent estimate made by this group in September, 1947, was that $73.35 is the minimum weekly income needed to support a family of four. In the comparatively well paid electrical industry, average take-home pay was $52.43 for that period.

From the time price controls were removed in June, 1946, to the end of 1947, the "cost of living rose 23 percent compared with an increase of 18 percent in weekly earnings," according to the report of the President's Council. By November, 1947, the average weekly wage in manufacturing was for the first time in American history above the $50 mark—$51.02 to be exact.

But $51.02, according to the same report, buys "nearly eight percent" less today than it did in June, 1946. If looked at in terms of January, 1945, when, labor thinks, the situation was more equitable, the present $51.02 is down 18.2 percent in purchasing power. This is where labor gets the figures on which it will base its wage demands.

Specifically again, in the case of steel workers the *real* wage picture is this: in October, 1947, the average weekly wage was $56.50—a real wage of $34.49 in terms of 1935-39 purchasing power. In June, 1946, average weekly wages were $46.74—a real wage of $35.06 in terms of the same prewar dollars. Thus steel workers saw the value of their wages *go down* in the last year and a half despite an increase in cash received.

Bonds, savings and debts. The President's Economic Report explains the great importance of this decline in purchasing power to the whole economy. As prices mounted between the time that controls were removed in June, 1946, and November, 1947, not only white-collar workers and people with fixed incomes, but also those employed in manufacturing were forced to cash veterans' terminal-leave bonds, dig into savings and go into debt.

The Economic Report also points out that this decline in the purchasing power of the average consumer "reversed a very desirable trend in the distribution of real income." From the beginning of the war until mid-1946, personal incomes had been steadily rising—and, most important, the relative increase was greatest for families in the lower and middle-income groups.

Personal incomes after taxes advanced from a per-capita average of $797 in 1935-39 to $1,021 in 1941 and $1,251 in 1946. Of this, more than 60 percent of the increase between 1941 and 1946 was for the lowest 40 percent of the families—and only 20 percent for the highest 20 percent of the families.

But even in 1946, incomes still fell dangerously under an adequate standard: "28 percent of the families had incomes of less than $2,000 and 48 percent less than $3,000."

But spiraling prices of the last year have plunged families which were on the economic upgrade downward again. The figures on savings in the

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Economic Report show what has been happening. During 1947 consumers saved only 6.3 percent of their disposable incomes, well below the 1946 level of 9.3 percent.

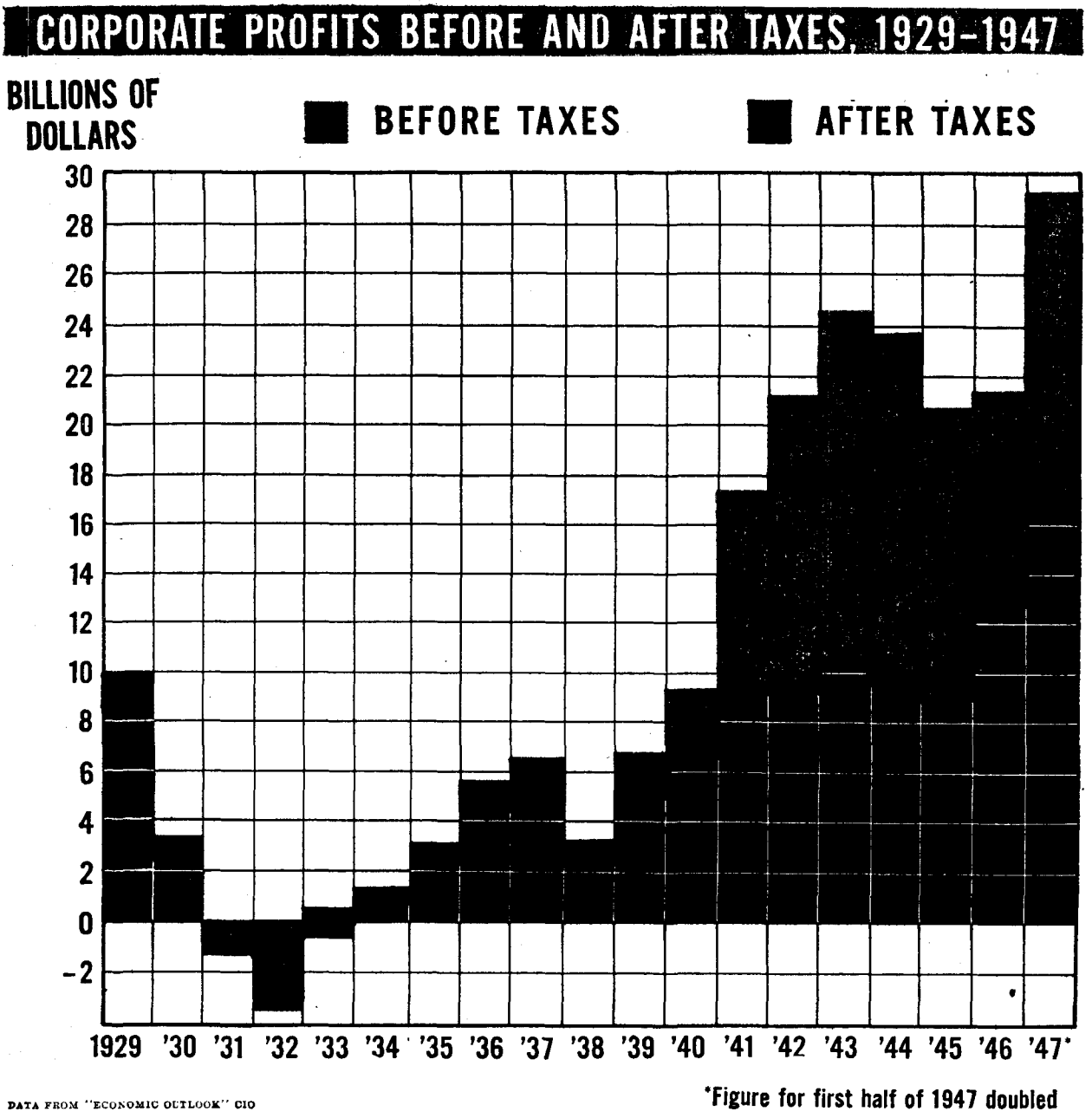
"The decline in the rate of net savings," the Economic Report points out, "was especially significant since families with high incomes and large accumulations tended to add to their holdings, while many low-income families reduced their holdings. . . ."

And, very important in the picture of declining purchasing power, the report adds, consumers who are drawing on their savings are now using these funds "for general living expenses and medical care, rather than for durable goods and housing . . . an ominous sign for the economy as a whole."

Labor's argument. Although this inflation is crucial, labor intends to spend most of its argument emphasizing the record-breaking level of industry profits. American industry, labor contends, can well afford to give wage increases out of current surpluses, without passing along any part of the increase in higher prices. The President's Economic Report seems to bear out this claim. "Profits during 1947 reached a new peak. Compared with 1946, corporate profits rose from $21.1 billion to $28 billion before taxes, and from $12.5 billion to $17 billion after taxes." (This last figure is 73 percent higher than the wartime average for profits after taxes, and 102 percent higher than the 1929 average.)

Profits, the report continues, "maintained remarkable stability throughout the year despite considerable increases in wages and raw-material costs. . . . This . . . indicates that business generally reacted to increases in costs by increasing prices rather than by absorbing them in whole or in part by reducing profits."

The Council's general observation is strikingly illustrated by the ratio be-



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tween price and wage increases in various key industries (see chart on page 16). For example, between June, 1945, and June, 1947, food prices rose a little more than 50 percent while wages in the food industries increased only about 3 percent. Steel prices rose more than 30 percent; the wage share was less than 5 percent. Lumber prices rose over 70 percent; the wage share was about 8 percent. Meat, the gaudy-tailed comet of the price spiral, upped wages less than 3 percent while prices rose more than 90 percent.

And here are the profit figures for 24 steel companies which represent over 90 percent of the ingot-making capacity of the industry:

1936-1939	$116,933,936
1941	289,716,458
1946	248,055,246
1947	394,145,253

The electrical-manufacturing industry also has had a full share in the bumper profit crop. The 23 leading companies show a rate of profits, after taxes, in 1947 which is more than 95 percent above wartime levels and 111.6 above the prewar 1939 level. General Electric stands 52.5 percent above war levels and 83.6 percent above 1939 profits. Westinghouse profits in 1947 are 116.5 percent and 344.1 percent in comparison with the same periods.

The speed-up too. Labor leaders say the ratio of wages to profits makes them feel even worse when they remember what labor's increased productivity has done to multiply profits. It is hard to measure the size of, or the reasons for, increased worker output. The steel workers and the electrical workers, however, have both documented the Council's statement that productivity rose in 1947.

Last month, the CIO, the UE and the UAW jointly charged that on top of everything else, industry bosses were now bent on a new "speed-up in production." According to a study of the electrical industry made by the trade publication, *Factory, Management and Maintenance,* for September, 1947, employers admit an increase to 13.5 percent in productivity in the year and a half following January, 1946. And the study showed that a further increase of 9.6 percent of productivity was expected in the next year. Labor insists that this added production goes into the employer's profits, not into their own pockets.

Labor feels that it is morally entitled to a bigger share of the national wealth this year than it stands to get. It is prepared to do something about it. It is prepared to take to the picket line and/or the ballot box to win what it considers to be its rights.

Labor's is a practical, pocketbook approach. But the august Council of Economic Advisers has reached much the same conclusion in a different way. "While changes in prices and income relationships during the past year have not disrupted activity in any serious way as yet, they have brought us progressively into a more unstable situation."

In other words, the experts are saying that wages have not kept up with prices this past year and, unless something is done about it, the drop in purchasing power will seriously affect our present prosperity. The Council's report implicitly justifies a labor bid for a wage increase of at least eight percent—to match the real loss in wages in terms of prices this last year. That is, if Congress does nothing to stabilize prices, as seems certain to be the case.

The Council stands by its previous position that the only sure way to stabilize the present inflationary situation is by a well balanced system of government controls. In the absence of effective methods for lowering prices, wages cannot be held down without dangerously weakening the consumer purchasing power necessary to keep our economy at full production. For lack of price stabilization, the Council has said, labor's standard of living has already suffered an actual cut of eight percent since price controls were removed.

Economic humanism. Labor can, and undoubtedly will, interpret this theoretical position taken by the Council to mean that if Congress refuses to pass price controls, labor is quite justified in striking for at least an eight percent raise in wages—and in long-range terms, justified in insisting on its fair share of the national income.

The trend toward more even distribution of family incomes in this country, which was interrupted when "price inflation gained momentum in the middle of 1946 . . . needs to be continued if ready and constant markets are to be available for a potential increase of 35 percent in total output of goods and services within a decade," the Economic Report recommends. "The trend should be continued also because there are still millions of families whose incomes are too low to provide a decent standard of living. A substantial part of our increasing productivity should be devoted to the betterment of these families."

The Council, if not Congress, understands that for economic as well as human reasons labor is entitled to an increasing share of what we all produce.

UE or GE?

In the wage-price argument, organized labor refused to take much comfort from the suggestion that the recent price cut on electrical appliances by General Electric might herald rollbacks on other consumer goods.

James Matles of the United Electrical Workers points out that GE adopted (three weeks before the happy news about home appliances) an escalator clause that cleared the way for price increases up to 20 percent on locomotives, generators, turbines and other back-page items which constitute 60 percent of GE production.

Matles also contends that the prices of GE appliances were out of line and that, with the Christmas rush over, GE responded to dealer pressure to reduce prices for a better position in an increasingly competitive market.

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THIRD-ROUND POLITICS

Rank-and-file pressures for higher pay face labor leaders worried about inflation and votes in November

by Willard Shelton

JUSTIN MILLER, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, last week testified before a House Labor Subcommittee that "Mr. [James C.] Petrillo's problem is . . . to carry something back to the members of the union who elected him."

Such comments by labor's critics add up to the fact that the trouble with unions is that labor leaders are mainly in the business of competing with each other. Philip Murray, so the argument goes, has to be sure that John L. Lewis doesn't get more for the miners than Murray himself gets for the steelworkers. Walter P. Reuther, the tough-minded anti-Communist president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, can't let Jim Matles and Julius Emspak of the left-wing CIO United Electrical Workers get ahead of him in "doing something for the boys." The AFL United Textile Workers, engaged in a competitive organizing campaign in Southern states, can't accept wage increases smaller than those annually negotiated by Emil Rieve and the CIO Textile Workers' Union.

Undoubtedly inter-union politics plays a substantial part in the operations of the American labor movement. The bitterness and animosity between rival leaders are sometimes astonishing. The editor of an AFL paper, for example, caught the devil from his superiors when he printed a brief story on the death of Sidney Hillman of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers. "We've had a lot of trouble with that fellow," said one of the AFL officers.

The rivalry of labor leaders this year will be intensified by the presidential election. In recent years only the CIO has been politically active on a major national scale. But now the railroad brotherhoods, the independent machinists' union and the 7.6 million members of the AFL are also being brought into the political arena.

The CIO faces some danger of being split wide apart politically by divergencies over the third-party candidacy of Henry A. Wallace. While Reuther has already opposed Wallace, and the CIO Political Action Committee last year came out against a third party, left-wing CIO leaders now are seeking to rally their memberships in support of Wallace. Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union, has charged that an attempt to force all CIO internationals to line up with CIO-PAC is an interference with their "autonomy." His protest was directed to Murray himself, who tried to delay CIO union endorsement of any presidential candidate until after the CIO-PAC board meeting late in January.

The vote. It has been repeatedly demonstrated in American politics that union leaders cannot "deliver" a labor vote. John L. Lewis fell flat on his face in 1940 when he tried to swing the CIO, of which he was then president, against a third term for Franklin D. Roosevelt. Lewis failed even to deliver the miners' vote in West Virginia in 1946 against Senator Harley Kilgore.

Union leaders can help *mobilize* an effective labor vote if there is strong sentiment for a particular candidate among the rank and file. That is how CIO–PAC operated, with some effectiveness, in the 1944 presidential campaign. But American labor history so far indicates that union leaders cannot *deliver* their members' votes, or swing support from one candidate to another at their own whim.

It is natural, however, that leaders keenly conscious of the Taft-Hartley Act and other statutes hostile to labor should try especially hard this year to function usefully on the economic front. Otherwise they will not be able to talk effective politics to dissatisfied members, angered by high living costs without compensating wage rises.

The pressure will perhaps be greater on the left-wing leaders—the ones who try to get registration and campaign support for Wallace—than on the anti-Wallace forces. The left-wingers are always politically alert. They are chronically conscious of a greater stake in the political field than union leaders who in the past have been content to function primarily in the field of wages, hours, working conditions and job security. In 1948, because of the third-party campaign and their desire to make a good showing, their polit-

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DRAWINGS BY HERSHFIELD

LEWIS

ical sensitivity is likely to be acute.

Entirely apart from the special overtones of the presidential election, the 1948 wage drives of union leaders will be partly motivated by their natural human rivalries with one another.

Dog eat dog. The mores of union politics are no different, fundamentally, from the mores of politics in Congress, or in business, or in the church. Power and leadership go to the hands of those who know how to exercise responsibility effectively. For every union president there are dozens of rising young officials who would like to have the president's job. One of the reasons that John L. Lewis was smashed and battered in the San Francisco AFL convention last October was his belligerent claim to the leadership of "all labor" against the Taft-Hartley Act. The immediate result was that his peers and fellow barons combined to cut him down to size.

Since the war, most of the rivalry among labor leaders over wage increases has been among CIO leaders. Since the CIO is composed of unions in mass-production industries—large companies bargaining nationally—a dispute or a strike is likely to have a sharp impact on public consciousness and a labor leader's national prestige. Yet beneath the surface the AFL and independent union leaders are as sharply aware of trends among "competing" unions.

For example, an obscure strike of railroad employees at a Pittsburgh steel company last year was motivated by the discontent of the rail workers, members of the railroad brotherhoods, in the face of superior benefits won by the CIO United Steelworkers, made up of other employees of the same company.

Common gossip has attributed various CIO union activities to inter-union rivalry. The "first-round" wage-increase strategy in 1946 was supposed to call for primary pressure by Murray's United Steelworkers. But Reuther's UAW went on strike against General Motors in November, 1945, and Reuther then proclaimed his basic doctrines that the automotive companies could raise wages without raising prices and that the companies should "open their books" to union inspection. (These doctrines are now general CIO policy.) When the United Electrical Workers settled their 1946 strike against the Frigidaire Division of General Motors for an 18.5-cent hourly wage increase, Reuther held out longer for substantially the same increase.

Jockeying for position. To avoid discord and unseemly disputations among brothers, the CIO's Big Three —steelworkers, auto workers and electrical workers—last year convened a conference to formulate common strategy. The same plan is being employed now in preparation for third-round wage demands, but the device is unlikely to abate mutual jockeying for "pattern-setting" achievements.

One curious fact is that Murray, president of the CIO as well as of the Steelworkers, seems doomed to sit on the sidelines while leadership is assumed by Reuther and by Albert Fitzgerald, Matles and Emspak of UE. The Steelworkers last year signed contracts which, while providing new discussions of wage rates and economic issues effective April 1, 1948, prohibited any strike before April, 1949. The union thus has no weapon with which to enforce demands.

The UAW and the UE, however, are not bound by no-strike clauses. They are free to use whatever economic pressure they find necessary if the automotive or electrical companies prove stubborn in third-round negotiations. As in other postwar years, the "pattern" of wage increases may already have been set in benefits granted or demanded by relatively small unions—the textile, oil and rubber workers. Wage increases as high as 15 cents an hour, plus vacation and other fringe benefits making a "package" equaling 18.5 cents an hour, have been won by both AFL and CIO textile workers. But the solid demonstrations of union strength and needs will come again in the auto and electrical industries.

Wages v. prices. The fundamental need of American workers for more money, greater job security, a better deal, comes not from union politics but from two factors—the psychological desire for a respectable place in an industrialized, mechanized society and the bread-and-butter reality of declining purchasing power.

Reuther repeatedly has said that he would rather see a price rollback this year than a third-round wage increase, but locals of his own union have plunged ahead with demands for 25-cent hourly wage increases. They need more money and have little faith in the desire of either business or Congress to force down inflated prices.

It was not competition among union leaders which took millions of workers to the picket lines in 1946, but the fact that rank-and-file members were restless after the discipline of the war years. They saw their wages drop with production cutbacks, and were afraid of a depression in which they would have to beg for jobs hat in hand or go on relief.

Union leaders naturally watch each other in the process of "getting something for the boys." If they did not do so, they would deserve the name of "porkchoppers" and "pie-carders"—union officials who fasten themselves on payrolls and never earn their salt. "The boys" pay dues, which in turn pay the salaries and expense accounts of the union leaders. They have a right to expect intelligent and up-to-date representation of their interests.

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Drawn by John Mackey

The Lesser Crested Dogma *(Obscurum Pitifulum)*
This species of dog with a talent for mimicry travels only with its own breed and shuns all contact with other animals. Since its suspicious nature extends even to food, the final result is that in the desperation of hunger it turns upon and devours itself. Habitat: blind alleys.

The Sharp-Billed Pettifog *(Hamburger Congressi)*
This unusually agile bird's long life expectancy is due almost solely to its quick maneuverings in hostile territory. Its spectacular gyrations, accompanied by a loud quacking noise, are used to divert attention from the nesting ground of its flock. Habitat: press rooms.

The Double-Tongued Quibble *(Duplici Equivoca)*
Flashy of plumage and fiery of eye, the Quibble swoops up and down in circles with indescribable energy. Reversible vents on the bird's underside enable it to fly backwards when attacked. Nesting place: radio transmitting antennae.

The Hermit-Shelled Aloof *(Uncommitta)*
A parasitical reptile which constitutes a natural prey because of its thin skin, the Aloof defends itself from its enemies by quickly pulling its borrowed shell over its head. Habitat: gubernatorial mansions.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

Militarization in the United States

ONE OF the dominant issues in the 1948 campaign will be the militarization of the US. The Universal Military Training bill, exceedingly important as it is, is only a superficial manifestation of a much more serious disease. That disease is military fascism at the service of monopoly capitalism, controlling the very life blood of the economic body and directing the thoughts and feelings of the vast bulk of the people who think and work at the good pleasure of their masters. The control is none the less real when it is exercised inside the velvet glove and there is apparent freedom for a press, radio and movie setup which presents chiefly only one side of the picture.

My harsh words about militarization in the United States must be backed up to carry conviction. After Roosevelt's death the military promptly moved in to take over complete control of the government and the nation. How well they have succeeded is illustrated by the National Security Act, which does far more than merge the Army and Navy. Secretary Forrestal described the bill accurately when he said that it provided for "the integration of *all* elements in the nation, not merely of the Army and Navy. . . . It provides for the coördination of the three armed services, but what is to me even more important than that, it provides for the *integration* of *foreign policy* with *national policy,* of our civilian economy with military requirements. . . ." (My italics. – H. A. W.)

In order to avoid the danger of a tough foreign policy which is not backed up firmly, Secretary Forrestal has the following program: "We have endeavored to obviate that danger in this bill through the establishment of the National Security Council. This organization, composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of National Defense, the three Service Secretaries and the chairman of the National Security Resources Board, provides us with a working co-partnership of foreign policy, military policy, national resources and productive capacity."

The spirit of the whole militaristic Wall Street program is that of Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric, in the *Army Ordnance Journal* in 1944. Wilson says: "The thought may be unpleasant, but through the centuries war has been inevitable in our human affairs as an evolutionary force. Perhaps we should even abandon the false phraseology of a 'war economy' and a 'peace economy'. . . . First of all, such a program must be the responsibility of the federal government. It must be initiated and administered by the executive branch—by the President as Commander-in-Chief and by the War and Navy Departments. At a somewhat secondary level, it is obvious that the Commerce and Labor Departments would also be interested.

"Of equal importance is the fact that this must be, once and for all, a continuing program and not the creation of an emergency. The program must be ensured and supported by the Congress in the beginning through resolution or perhaps even through legislation, later by regularly scheduled and continuing appropriations. . . . Industry must not be hampered by political witch hunting or thrown to the fanatical isolationist fringe tagged with the 'Merchant of Death' label. Let us make this three-way partnership (industry, government, army) permanent and workable and not just an arrangement of momentary convenience."

The program in its foreign-trade aspects is based on the idea of free enterprise owning and operating exporting firms, importing firms and the producing firms at home and abroad, but with government sponsoring and protecting the foreign-trade rights of private firms all over the world.

The Department of State is the front line of defense for the private firms doing business all over the world. But even more important for pushing American trade abroad is the National Security Council with its sweeping powers to coördinate all our forces for military purposes. As Senator Austin, one of the strong backers of the National Security Act, said just before he went to the UN as our representative for peace, "In all negotiations the only power now recognized is military."

I charge that Truman, Marshall, Forrestal (and his three Service Secretaries), Austin and Harriman (and his industrial cohorts) all have an attitude toward public affairs which looks on preparation for war as the chief instrument of foreign policy and therefore one of the highest forms of public good.

After all great wars there is an overwhelming tendency for the victor nation to take over the outstanding vices of the nation which it defeated. Never has this trend been more prominently displayed than in the US since April 12, 1945. No nation has ever taken so rapidly such firm steps in the direction of centralized Prussian bureaucracy and militarism. We have gone beyond that to the willingness to engage in unprovoked attack.

As early as September of 1945, James Reston of the New York *Times* reported that among the "tentative conclusions" which had gained "general acceptance" was the idea that the proposed single Department of Defense "must be geared legally, mentally and militarily to strike the first blow, without violating the Constitution, if that can be done, or by changing the Constitution if that is necessary."

Reston also said that there was tentative agreement on the need for a

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"closer, more aggressive relationship" between the military departments and the State and Justice Departments and for tighter relations between a "unified cabinet and congressional committees."

General Arnold, before he left as Chief of the Air Forces, proclaimed that all citizens must be "united in a joint effort which touches every phase of national and private life." He declared that our security depended "on our ability to take immediate offensive action with overwhelming force."

The liberals have been very slow in waking up to what a "strike-the-first-blow" military organization means in time of peace to a democracy. David Lawrence, the conservative editor of the *United States News,* two years ago began to get the drift when he said: "The rule of force is today dominant. President Truman speaks it. General Marshall speaks it. Secretary Patterson speaks it. Our whole government is beginning to adopt the philosophy that the United States must have a big army, navy and air force. What for? . . . It must be that the philosophy of force, instead of reason, and that military demonstration, instead of the language of reason and justice or self-denial, is foremost. This is the only solution that Hitler found for Germany's troubles. He distrusted other nations. Now we are beginning to distrust other nations, too, and build a military force to speak for us in the world. Militarism is beginning to infiltrate rapidly into our democratic system. . . ."

In an earlier editorial Lawrence had said: "To give one man who is not responsible directly to the people complete authority over the Army, Navy and Air Forces, is to turn the clock back and breed suspicion of militarism in our midst. Will union labor stand and see such a bureaucracy created, perhaps some day to break down picket lines? Will liberals, including the church forces, stand by and observe the United States imitating the militaristic systems that have brought tragedies to other countries? . . . On the basis of what has been brought out thus far, the scheme looks dangerously as though the heroics of militarism are being used to foist upon the American people at a vulnerable moment in their psychology a system of militaristic thinking which is incompatible with our history and traditions."

Unquestionably the Congress, by setting up the National Security Council and its affiliate, the National Security Resources Board, has ended the type of US which we have heretofore known and turned it over to the military and to those gentlemen who spend most of their lives working for the big financial houses, and the industrialists who shift, with startling ease, to Washington, where like chameleons they take on whatever political coloring may be expedient at the moment.

These are the gentlemen largely responsible for the fear of inflation, war and depression which strides the world today. They gambled on bluffing a Russia brutally battered by war. Certainly Russia is to blame as well as they. But every time they make a big noise in the Mediterranean with aircraft carriers and Marines and shouts that we will go wherever we damn please, we may expect Russia to figure out some counter-move. While we in the US criticize Russia for denying civil liberties, we are tending to follow the same course ourselves.

We hated Germany for looking on herself as the nation chosen to bring German peace and culture to the world under the jungle law of "might makes right." Now under Truman, backed by Wall Street and the military, the US invokes the doctrine of "might makes right" as the foundation of American leadership and domination of the world. Many individual citizens of the US feel no personal responsibility; but in the eyes of the world we are not blameless. Might never has made right and never will.

The only way the US can ever lead the world is in service—by helping all peoples everywhere to help themselves. Our present efforts make us feared by the ordinary people in all the countries of the world. Fully half the people of the world look on us as equally responsible with the Russians for the world's failure to repair its damages peacefully. Hundreds of millions of Europeans wait in fear and trembling as the two great giants prepare to trample the remnants of European civilization into the ground.

Most of these millions are eager to get the help offered under the Marshall Plan, but they have no gratitude to the US because they think the Marshall Plan as developed by Congress is chiefly an endeavor to increase the American sphere of influence as a necessary part of the program to fight Russia. They fear that America wants to play up western Germany at the expense of the rest of Europe so that she can most effectively control all of Europe and use it as a bastion against Russia.

The US will continue to conduct its foreign policy in a purely militaristic spirit as long as Truman is President, Marshall is Secretary of State and Forrestal is Secretary of National Defense. Everything we do domestically will be more and more an expression of the attitude of the National Security Council as it drives to integrate the nation for war. Newspaper and radio commentators and movie directors will vie with one another to create the atmosphere which the Council wants. Those who question will be labeled un-American. Those who fail to express hatred of Russia every month or two will be looked on as traitors. Those who work for a bridge of understanding with Russia will be subject to grand-jury investigations.

Thus far, militaristic fascism has stolen up on us so gradually that we are scarcely aware of what has happened. The shackles have not yet been snapped over our wrists. We are still free to move. We can still organize without the danger of being put in jail.

Only by a large vote for the new party in 1948 can we stop the drive of the military fascists to take over the US. During the past two years they have taken every objective. Now it is our turn.

Henry A Wallace

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"RED DEAN" IN QUEENS

All academic freedom is involved in the fight of a bespectacled little scholar who believes in the First Amendment

by Donald W. Craig

DR. HAROLD LENZ, the Dean of Students at Queens College, one of the four municipally financed colleges of New York City, doesn't look important.

A slight, spectacled scholar of 40, with a reddish mustache and a bald spot, Lenz was an assistant professor of German before he became dean. He has a wife and three children, is a Lutheran, and lives in a conventional six-room house in Flushing, New York. His most noteworthy achievement, up to a year ago, was to write a textbook called *Scientific German for Intermediate Students*.

Yet during the past 12 months, because he has insisted upon risking his career and his family's bread and butter in a battle for a principle against the organized power and prejudice of his community, Lenz has become a public figure.

Academic hot water. Since January, 1947, Lenz has been called a Red by public officials, the press, civic organizations and a sizable proportion of his fellow citizens. He has been denounced as unfit to teach or hold administrative office. His resignation has been demanded repeatedly. Among the unthinking, numbers of whom are in influential places, his reputation as an educator is irreparably damaged.

Although a minority of his colleagues have consistently supported him, Lenz's position is embarrassing and precarious. How much longer he will remain dean is anybody's guess.

Dean Lenz got into all this hot water by sticking up for the First Amendment to the Constitution, the spirit of which, he holds, should be observed by colleges as well as by Congress. The immediate beneficiary of his efforts was a group with which he was not in sympathy, and from which he could gain nothing—American Youth for Democracy, a Communist-sponsored political-action organization for young people.

The AYD first appeared at Queens in the spring of 1946, when a group of undergraduates applied for a charter. During most of the months between then and now it was a storm center of controversy, and existed officially as a campus organization for only a few weeks. That it existed at all was largely due to what Dean Lenz calls his "pig-headedness."

The AYD has undergone many tribulations during its brief career. The FBI labeled it "subversive," and it was subsequently driven off the grounds of Wayne University, Michigan State, Brooklyn College, Colorado University, Temple and other institutions.

Yet the chief sufferers have been, not the boys and girls involved, but the educators who risked their positions to defend the right of the AYD —whatever its political complexion— to function on campus.

These include President Edward J. Sparling of Roosevelt College in Chicago; Professor Preston W. Slosson of the University of Michigan; Dr. Carl Borgmann of Colorado University; President David D. Henry of Wayne University in Detroit; and Dr. Frank C. Davis of the University of California at Los Angeles. They are as sound a breed of heroes as peacetime can produce.

Their bravery is none the less genuine because they face public censure rather than bullets, and risk their careers instead of their lives. It is enhanced by the fact that they fight under no compulsion, endure danger 24 hours a day for months at a time, and reap sneers rather than cheers for their pains. The story of Dean Lenz is their story.

Dr. Lenz's normal activities are anything but spectacular. As Dean of Students, he helps freshmen orient themselves, plans schedules for the debating team and the glee club, lends an ear to the personal and social problems of co-eds and watches over the welfare of 100-odd student organizations.

The "political duties" Lenz has assumed are, however, less humdrum. When he became dean, in January of 1947, the AYD was composed of a small, earnest minority of the 2,952 students at Queens College. Its "subversive activities" before and after his appointment included a campus meeting on raising teachers' and custodial workers' pay; agitation for an increase in veterans' subsistence; participation in a national drive to end lynching; and circulation of petitions to defeat the Taft-Hartley Act.

Possibly 10 percent of the Queens AYD enrolment was Communist. Its members, red, pink or green, had joined because they were dissatisfied with the *status quo* and wanted to help change it—an old American custom.

"Dimwits and fanatics." Nevertheless, when a Student Affairs Committee, chaired by the new Dean of Students, approved the AYD charter on January 17, the formal leadership of Queens County blew its collective top.

Students, faculty, administration, local politicians, civic organizations and the New York Board of Higher Education became entangled in a year-long free-for-all, with assists from the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Activities Committee and the New York *Daily Mirror*. The latter's chief contribution was a classic of its kind: an editorial headed "Rats' Nest in Queens?" which described academic freedom as "a silly old shibboleth dragged out when convenient to shield intellectual dimwits and pedagogical fanatics from the consequences of their misconduct."

(Incidentally, the turmoil marked

Donald W. Craig, former Philadelphia newspaperman, is now free-lancing. This is his fourth New Republic *article.*

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the first time Queens College and the county had clashed over an ideological issue, or indeed over anything of note. Previous expressions of community disapproval had been limited to such matters as a protest by Christian Scientists about the teaching of hygiene, and another from the local Republican organization about the use of the *New Republic* in an English course.)

The opposition. Throughout the months of controversy, Dean Lenz steadfastly defended the right of the AYD to operate as a campus organization. He maintained that the Communist Party and any of its adjuncts had a right to exist on or off campus until they had been declared illegal by the government; and that higher education should teach, among other things, the values of democracy, among which are free speech, freedom of assembly and the right to criticize the government.

These propositions are easy to maintain in the quiet of your study. They are hard to stand up and fight for when you occupy a terminable public position and the tide is against you. Here is the kind of opposition Dean Lenz faced:

LOCAL POLITICIANS. Forty-one of 97 members of the faculty at one point voted with Lenz, during a closed meeting, against banning the AYD. They were voting for civil liberties, not for communism. A few days later county Democratic boss James Roe announced, "I want to know who those forty-two are. That 55-to-42 vote should have been 97 to zero."

Queens College, called upon to divulge the names of the 42, refused to do so. Roe immediately demanded the resignation of President Paul Klapper and Dean Lenz. Queens's four city councilmen, the local Representative and the Republican county chairman all castigated Lenz for his attitude. The dean of a privately owned institution might laugh this off. At Queens, city-owned and operated, it was no laughing matter.

THE LOCAL PRESS. In addition to the *Daily Mirror,* the dominant Queens county newspapers—the Long Island *Press* and the Long Island *Star-Journal* —tried excitedly to stir up a crusade against the campus "radicals," criticized Lenz for defending the AYD and spread his name across front pages in invidious relationship to the words "Red" and "Communist." (Lenz has struck back here, with a $100,000 libel suit. His case is being handled by Arthur Garfield Hays, the celebrated champion of civil liberties.)

CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS. The American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans, the Hibernians, the Queens Civic Committee and numerous other civic groups and women's clubs passed resolutions assailing Lenz.

COLLEGE BACKERS. Queens College was established with the aid of the Queens College Association, a body of local dignitaries who continued to support its pleas for money in city council during its 10 years of life. The president of this organization, State Supreme Court Judge Charles Colden, this fall issued a statement that, if the Queens faculty did not ban the AYD, he would ask the Association to reassess its entire program and policy toward the college.

This statement, with a similar request from Borough President James A. Burke, hit the faculty just as a $2.5 million appropriation for a badly needed science building was on its way through the city council. The threat was immediate and obvious.

COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION. Paul Klapper, president of Queens College, who was away on sabbatical leave when the going got rough this fall, opposes not only the AYD, but all student political groups on campus. So does Margaret Kiely, Academic Dean and acting president in Klapper's absence. So also do a few of Lenz's colleagues.

Dr. Josephine Pisani, Political Science instructor and faculty adviser

DRAWING BY JEROME SNYDER

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to the college Student Council, testified at a public hearing that students were "politically immature, although well meaning," and that they needed "direction from the Board of Education in such matters." (The Student Council, which includes 11 members over 21 and nine war veterans, thinks differently.)

THE PEOPLE OF QUEENS. Many of them view the whole proceedings as the hysterical outgrowth of war tensions. But a sizable portion apparently consider the college a den of bolshevism and Lenz a bomb thrower. He has received numerous threatening and insulting letters. Several of his colleagues have reported to him conversations with solid citizens which began, "Who is this Red dean you have over at the College?"

Futile defiance. The faculty of Queens bowed to the storm on December 4, 1947, and voted to ban the AYD from the campus in "the best interests of the students and the college." It was the consensus around the college that "best interests" referred to the science building rather than to the political purity of the student body. The day after the faculty vote, the Student Council passed a sharply worded resolution condemning the decision. It was a defiant but empty gesture. The AYD was through at Queens, for the present at least.

The local witch-hunters were not through, however. A speaker at a recent Lenz rally accused Hugh Quinn, a Queens councilman, of planning to make the rounds of Democratic Party clubs to campaign for support to scratch Lenz's name off next year's budget. Another councilman, L. Gary Clemente, placed a resolution before the city council calling for Lenz's resignation.

Clemente's resolution also applies to Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, and Dr. Harry N. Wright, president of City College, who refused to impose their wills on their faculties and order the banning of the AYD on their campuses. These gentry are more formidable game than the Queens dean, however, and the resolution may never get past the public-affairs committee of the council.

Lenz is not protected by any such high station. If the resolution dies, his enemies may find other means to dislodge him. He awaits the outcome with fortitude and with persistent faith.

"I have taken more risks than a man with a family ought to take, perhaps," is his comment. "But somehow you just can't sell civil liberties short."

Lenz had a certain amount of both personal and academic preparation for his present martyrdom. As a boy during World War I, he learned what it was like to suffer under public prejudice. A gang of toughs on one occasion beat him up after he had bought a copy of the *Staats-Zeitung*, a perfectly loyal German American newspaper, for his father, who taught German and Spanish in the New York high schools.

Later, when a graduate student at New York University, he chose as his doctoral thesis the political ideas of Franz Grillparzer, a nineteenth-century Austrian poet and dramatist who believed, among other things, that the creative factors of life are the nonconformists who produce ideas that help men progress. Because of his beliefs, Grillparzer, like Lenz, sporadically ran into trouble with the bigwigs of his time.

Finally, as an instructor at NYU and later at Queens, Lenz dealt constantly with the works of certain pre-Hitler Germans who contributed more than a bit to modern liberalism. One was Schiller, whose *Don Carlos* was banned by the Nazis because audiences kept cheering at the line, "Sire, give us freedom of thought," even after the line had been deleted.

The dean's difficulty. Like any good teacher, Lenz could only teach what he believed. That is the cause of his trouble today. He takes ideas seriously—unlike his politician censors in Queens, who engaged in election deals with the American Labor Party in 1944 and 1945, but have been accusing that same ALP of being Communist-dominated since the political weather changed.

Neither the AYD nor Queens College is of earth-shaking importance by itself. But the Queens situation is indicative of a broader picture:

¶ Boss Roe has his counterpart in Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan, who appointed a Coughlinite to head a Red-hunting committee to drive the AYD out of the state.

¶ The Queens city councilmen are copies of the Illinois legislators who banned the AYD by law from their state.

¶ Judge Colden is brother-in-arms to Merritt Perkins, executive of the Colorado National Bank and regent of the University of Colorado, who helped to initiate the "oust AYD campaign" on the Colorado campus.

"Queens style." The various elements of the AYD fight at Queens College were summarized in two statements made last fall. On October 27, 1947, county Democratic boss Roe announced after a visit to the Queens campus with some henchmen:

"We . . . found that many professors [at Queens] came from other states and did not know the conditions in Queens, that many had peculiar backgrounds and seemed to lack the proper interest in the student body—from the Queens point of view. . . . Queens is an American, God-fearing community, and those who don't see eye to eye with us have no place in our midst. We want our students taught Queens style or not at all."

On the same day, Dean Lenz stated at a public hearing:

"I say let us fight communism at its source: in poverty, selfishness, injustice, war and all other forces that demoralize the individual and make him lose his self-respect. And let us not hastily and without adequate evidence, directly or by implication, label all people to the Left of us Communists or all people to the Right of us Fascists. Save that sane middle ground which is the American tradition. It is in our hands to prevent the tragic situation of having only two alternatives: the insanity of fascism or the insanity of communism."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

BLUEPRINT FOR NATIONHOOD

by Richard Watts Jr.

BEING ONE of the most sensible and urbane of American historians and critics, Carl Van Doren is too wise to overemphasize the implications of the name he has given *The Great Rehearsal* (Viking; $3.75), his story of the making and ratification of the Constitution of the United States. As the title indicates, he is by no means unaware that a study of the brilliant and successful compromises by which, in the summer of 1787, "a handful of men, most of them wise and all of them earnest," hammered out an agreement transforming "a loose alliance of separate and quarreling states into a tightly welded and enduring federation" offers an international lesson for today.

If, he seems to be asking, the perils of a divided land that was little more than a continental seaboard could be ended and One Nation established through something like sheer necessity by a group of determined but fallible political leaders more than 150 years ago, could not their work chart a course for the desperate contemporary need to end global disunity and bring about One World? But the most intelligent feature of a notable historical volume is that no attempt is made to be pat or didactic about it, or to draw parallels because of a determination to find them.

Then and now. Van Doren merely tells his story with an attractive combination of warmth and detachment, of human interest and scholarship, and leaves any application for our time to the intelligent imagination of the reader. It is a method that is of great assistance to his implied case. Had he emphasized similarities where they must often have seemed vague or farfetched, he would have run the danger of underlining unintentionally the inevitable contrasts between the problems faced by the men of the Constitutional Convention and those currently in the way of the men of the United Nations. By simply telling the story of the tasks, the struggles and the differences met and overcome by the leaders of 1787, the similarities, in spirit if not in letter, between the needs, hostilities, compromises and solutions of two great periods in human history emerge far more persuasively.

The author's course adds to the interest of *The Great Rehearsal* in more ways than this. The truth is that, helpful as the story of the Constitution is, the differences between the problems and solutions involved in building a nation and remaking a world remain too vast for the example of that era to apply to the day of Marshall, Molotov and Bevin, save in the most shadowy and intangible fashion. What is chiefly impressive in the book is something equally important to us, and just as discouraging to the hope of any immediate improvement. In a time of unimpressive political figures and general debasement of American political thought, it reminds us of the great good fortune that the new land possessed in having leaders of such lofty and creative ideas, intelligence and ideals as the men of the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

It is impossible to read the speeches and resolutions of the vital conclave of leaders which opened in Philadelphia that spring, as reported in the private journals of Madison and others who attended it, without being deeply impressed by the generally high level of thought and expression and contrasting it with the tone and quality of political thinking and imagination of the leaders today, not only in America but throughout the world. It is not a cheerful contrast.

This is not because Van Doren is given to idealization of the group of men who drew up the Constitution, or of the document itself. He is, in fact, neither a glorifier nor a debunker. Nor is he a pallid neutral. As he says in his preface:

> In the early days of the Republic it was held, by devout friends of the Constitution, that its makers had received it somewhat as Moses received the Tablets of the Law on Sinai. During the years of conflict which led to the Civil War the Constitution was regarded, by one party or the other, as the rule of order or the misrule of tyranny. In still later generations the Federal Convention of 1787 has been accused of evolving a scheme for the support of special economic interests, or even a conspiracy for depriving the majority of the people of their liberties. Opinion has sprung back and forth, while the Constitution itself has grown into a strong yet flexible organism, generally, if now and then slowly, responsive to the national circumstances and necessities.

It is from such a fair-minded, clear-eyed, reasonable point of view that Van Doren reports the work of the Constitution-makers. And the picture which emerges is that of honest, conscientious, imaginative people striving grandly, if fallibly, to produce a dynamic document which, for all its compromises and limitations, established a great and enduring pattern of popular government, capable of organic growth under the challenge of new conditions.

The problem returns. In his preface the author sets down the only moral he has to offer. "The Constitution," he says, "was made and ratified during one of the two periods of American history in which the American people have been most occupied with fundamental principles of government. In 1787 the problem was how the people could learn to think nationally, not locally, about the United States. In 1948 the problem is how the people can learn to think internationally, not

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CULVER SERVICE

THE SHIP OF STATE: BOWLING GREEN

nationally, about the United Nations." Wisely, he leaves it pretty much at that.

Principles and characters. Although it is more concerned with principles than with men, and with ideas than with drama, *The Great Rehearsal* is far from a dry treatise. If the portraits of Washington, Franklin, Hamilton and the other Founding Fathers are not detailed, they have a vitality of their own.

Benjamin Franklin, oldest and wisest of the delegates, arguing for greater liberties for the common man as the backbone of the nation, comes to life most gloriously of all; and there is a memorable account of the almost forgotten George Mason of Virginia, who finally voted against the Constitution because he hated its compromise on the slave trade. Wrong as Mason may seem to have been on his stubborn vote, his protest, when he argued against permitting the importation of slaves for another 20 years, deserves Van Doren's tribute that "nobody else seems clearly to have foreseen how important all these matters were to be in the future."

There is no end of valuable information in *The Great Rehearsal,* down to the trivial but fascinating detail that, even in 1788, Americans referred to eccentrics as "characters."

THE GREAT BOMB HUNT

ALSOS, by Samuel Goudsmit (Henry Schuman; $3.50).

BY THE MIDDLE OF 1944 the US was well on the way to its first atomic bomb. If all went well the tremendous new weapon would yet play its part in the Allied offensive. A dread uncertainty, however, gnawed at the minds of the scientists and military men connected with the atom project. How far had the Germans progressed in their work on atomic energy? How close were they to the atomic bomb?

The fear and uncertainty were, in a sense, understandable. It was a German, Otto Hahn, who first discovered the principle of fission. Another German (as Samuel Goudsmit tells us) published the first paper on the theory of the chain-reacting pile. It was known that the Germans were operating a plant in Norway for the manufacture of heavy water, valuable for research in nuclear physics and in the production of fissionable material. A combined British-Norwegian-American land and air operation had destroyed the plant; whereupon the Norwegian factory was not only rebuilt, but the speed with which this was accomplished indicated the high priority rating the Germans placed upon it.

The final reason for fear was the belief, long standing and deeply ingrained, that science as practised in Germany was in all major respects on a higher level than anywhere else in the world, a conviction which the Germans themselves fully shared. Some of more nervous physicists had such faith in German prowess that they became obsessed with the idea that the Luftwaffe was preparing to drop atomic weapons not only on London but even on Chicago. Christmas Day of 1944, they thought, would signal the opening of the attack and, accordingly, they sent their families to places of safety in the country.

Whether or not these were hallucinations, it was clearly of the highest military importance to determine, if possible, where the Germans really stood. The opportunity did not present itself until the Continent was invaded.

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Alsos mission. Major General Leslie R. Groves, head of the Army's Manhattan District Project, organized a scientific civilian and military expedition which went first to Italy and later joined the vanguard of American forces as they fought their way through France into Germany. This was the Alsos Mission (*alsos,* believe it or not, is Greek for *groves*), which was to find out about German scientific research with primary emphasis on atomic research.

Samuel Goudsmit, a Dutch-born physicist of Northwestern University, was appointed its scientific leader. He is an eminent physicist (discoverer of the "spinning electron"), a man of high courage and patriotism and, by reason of his prewar training and experience, unusually well acquainted among the scientists of Europe.

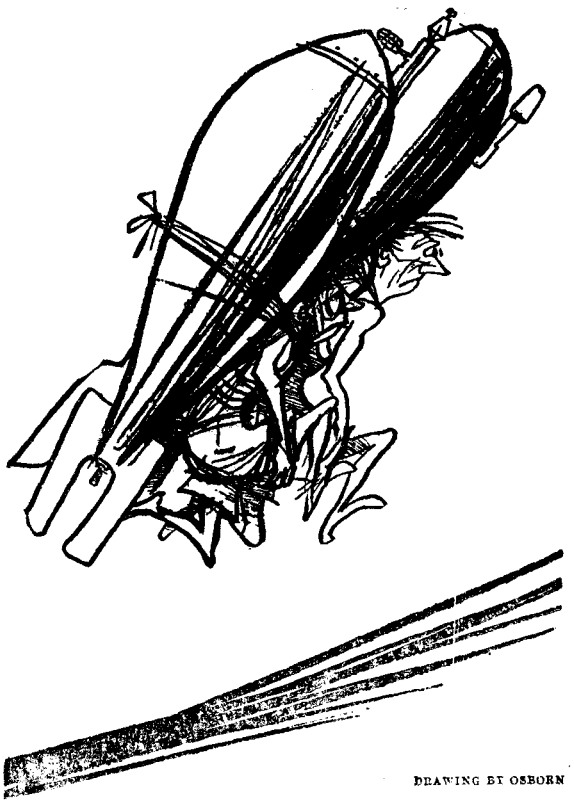
His book is a valuable account of the adventures and findings of the Alsos Mission: their experiences in jeep and armored car through France and Germany, their tracking down of Nazi scientists, their hunt for key documents, their false starts and chases after worthless clues, their final and complete success in piecing together the astonishing record of Germany's astonishing failure.

Not long after entering Germany, Alsos made the discovery that the Nazi scientists—and by that designation I do *not* mean a handful of wicked men, but rather the overwhelming majority of German scientists—in their touted "uranium project" had arrived precisely nowhere. The records uncovered by Alsos prove beyond doubt that German science at the rate and *in the direction* it was moving would not have produced the bomb, even if the Allied armies had not broken through for years.

German technology failed in execution; German science failed in conception. The amount of uranium metal (unseparated) which the Germans had been able to refine was negligible. German scientists had been wholly unsuccessful in their attempts to separate U-235. Their one pile was a small, crude affair, essentially incapable of effective operation.

Peaceful pursuits. No one among the German scientists, not even the great (if somewhat inflated) Heisenberg, understood that the pile itself was not a bomb, but that the purpose of a pile was to make plutonium, which in turn could be used in a bomb.

After the Nazi scientists learned of Hiroshima they joined Heisenberg in an attempt to persuade the world that they had never sought to make an atomic weapon, that "Germany worked on the uranium problem for peaceful uses only; the Allies for purposes of destruction." Despite irrefutable evidence showing that Heisenberg vainly sought the same path which the scientists of our country and Great Britain succeeded in opening, he issued a statement referring to "Germany's uranium pile which I was building up to create energy for machines and not for bombs."



DRAWING BY OSBORN

Sidelights. Goudsmit's anecdotes further enliven an absorbing narrative. The chapter headed "Operation Toothpaste" describes the unraveling of the mystery of large-scale German purchases of thorium (valuable in one method of producing fissionables). When news of this operation reached the Alsos group, a number of its teams set out in a frenzied search for a German secret-service official, apparently in charge of the purchases, bearing the highly improbable name of Harun Al Rashid.

This Aryan, born in the caliphate of Senftenberg, Brandenburg Province, when finally captured, verified his name and explained the mystery. It turned out that a German chemical concern, looking to the unhappy days of peace when its business in gas masks and other military items would have vanished, sought to develop one of its patents for thorium-oxide toothpaste which would give teeth a new look of radioactive brilliance. Accordingly, they stole the French supply of thorium, and were engaged, with the help of Rashid, in cornering the entire thorium market.

Another of Alsos' agonies ensued after it had sent to the US for testing several bottles of river water which, had there been atomic plants along the Rhine, might have shown signs of radioactivity. A considerate member of the mission added to the consignment a bottle of excellent French wine to lighten the labors of the analytical chemists back home. Unfortunately someone scribbled on the wine bottle "Test this too." Forty-eight hours later there arrived at Etousa headquarters a top-secret, urgent radiogram with the curt message: "Water negative. Wine shows activity. Send more. Action!"

There is also reprinted a Gestapo letter to Fraulein Erna Piffl asking her to look up an old woman in Jutland who still possessed "knowledge of the knitting methods of the Vikings."

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This valuable skill, it appears, appealed to the arts and crafts side of Himmler's enquiring nature and therefore led to a determined search for this talented crone. The letter alone, I promise, is worth the price of the book.

The "Aryan" neurosis. Goudsmit fairly answers the important question: "Why did the Germans fail in their attempts to make atom bombs?" Their arrogant self-complacency was part of the reason, but certainly not the complete explanation. They were handicapped by an ideology which required the expulsion from Germany on racial grounds of some of her greatest scientists.

A distinction was made between "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" science, and scientific developments in the latter category—relativity for example—were placed on an index of prohibited teachings. The great traditions of Teutonic culture demanded that good Germans practise science with their hands rather than their heads, and theoretical disciplines were scrutinized for a possible Jewish cast of thought. The effect which this dogma must have had on the entire educational system, already mired by Nazi philosophy, is not difficult to imagine.

There is much in Goudsmit's excellent book to heed and ponder over. In this country, too, there are forces and neuroses which menace science. We too grow soft with complacency (like "sleepy pears," in Rebecca West's fine phrase); we are obsessed with the need for secrecy even in basic research, and thus are narrowing the vital channels through which ideas must flow freely for science to thrive; we neglect pure research, despite repeated warnings from competent authorities that our fund of basic knowledge, on which all applied science depends, is depleted and that we can no longer, as in the past, look to Europe for its replenishment.

We, too, permit military domination in research policy and in the field of science education, encouraging our Army, Navy and Air Forces to make science their tool and to preëmpt, with the help of a limitless purse, all available scientific manpower; we spend fifty times as much on military as on medical research; we, too, lack proper coördination and planning of scientific research within and outside the federal government.

The last but not least melancholy fact is the resumption of the unreasoning worship of German science and German scientists. In influential circles today the mere mention of anything German once again induces a "coma of veneration."

It is not only German science and technology, but the entire German *Weltanschauung*, that begins again to appeal. In light of contemporary opinion on international affairs, this is perhaps not surprising. We have, after all, got to the point where a German would have less of a problem passing our loyalty tests than would millions of Americans. JAMES R. NEWMAN

FICTION PARADE

IT IS not too much to say that most good American fiction in recent years has come from the South. This is largely due to such obviously propitious circumstances as a complex, fantastic and usable past extending into continuous social traditions, a rich colloquialism of language and customs, and a predominantly agrarian, or at any rate rural, life. In this it is in the main line of American literature, one of towns, villages and the country, since, as a people, we have always suspected city life, never learned to build livable cities, to control them, or subsist decently and comfortably—that is, "urbanely"—in them. Two books recently published are cases in point: Truman Capote's first novel, *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (Random House; $2.75), and Robert Penn Warren's collection of his short stories, *The Circus in the Attic* (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

Maturation. Capote is a young man from New Orleans who has achieved an extraordinary reputation for a few stories published in magazines. They were unusually good stories, though not as remarkable as they first appeared; the bright note of the precocious and the exotic easily tarnishes, and a native and poetic sense for words occasionally slips into the mannered and ornate.

LENORE HIRSCH

His novel is about a thirteen-year-old boy who goes to live in a decaying back-country mansion with a group of relatives who might be charitably described as eccentric. Such story as there is accounts for a "maturing" in the boy; that is, he responds sensitively to impressions, keeps his eyes open, discovers the background of the family, forms attachments and experiences some of the sensations of puberty. The predominant emotions are from the Capote repertory: selfishness, loneliness, a cruelty which appears as sadism and other perverse variations, and, finally, the emotional impotence of the unloved unloving.

For the most part, the book is about the surface of things; the real action originates here and is described as ornamentation or decay. The characters are specialized, even freaks: a circus dwarf, a hermit and a paralytic, for example. Incidental to them is a sideshow of grotesques: a mule hangs itself from the balcony of a dilapidated hotel. These elements are invoked to create a spell, and successfully, since the response is in the mind of an enchanted child. But it is an atmosphere of *things* that depend rather too much

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for effect on the assumption that they are so deliciously morbid.

The human element is conspicuously absent, or rather, conspicuously metamorphosed into objects, and, in this manner, disintegrates:

"The world was a frightening place, yes, he knew: unlasting, what could be forever? or only what it seemed? rock corrodes, rivers freeze, fruit rots; stabbed, blood of black and white bleeds alike; trained parrots tell more truth than most, and who is lonelier: the hawk or the worm? every flowering heart shrivels dry and pitted as the herb from which it bloomed, and while the old man grows spinsterish, his wife assumes a mustache; moment to moment, changing, changing, like the cars on the ferris-wheel."

These qualifications may not be so serious; perhaps they only indicate extraneous weaknesses which the young writer will bring under control. Unfortunately, however, Capote's present reputation is the sort concocted from fashionable ballyhoo which is too likely to exploit the "glamorous" elements of his talents at the expense of his development. The happiest thing he could do would be to disembarrass himself of such a reputation, to expand and work his very extensive gifts. Whether he will do so or not is a personal problem; we can only hope.

Delayed action. *The Circus in the Attic* collects the short stories Robert Penn Warren has written since 1930. The variety of the stories and the range of character are proof of a strong inventive imagination. Moreover, the author has a critical knowledge of the towns and country of his territory, Kentucky and Tennessee for the most part, but he always makes his points in terms of human emotion. Or, more exactly, the emotional *constriction* of jealousy, suspicion, consuming possessiveness, or the narrow fears and petty triumphs of a shabby gentility. The stories have a kind of delayed-action effect; they are written with a skill that first of all effaces itself, and the ironic detachment of the prose belies the intensity of its subjects.

JOHN FARRELLY

THEATER: Bad Show

In the complicated economic and artistic relations between the United States and Great Britain there lurks a puzzling injustice. In some fields there is a beautifully equitable exchange of commodities; during the war we sent the brave island huge quantities of Spam, pilots and amphibious engineers in payment for the early British courage and durability, and no right-thinking person could complain for a moment about the transaction.

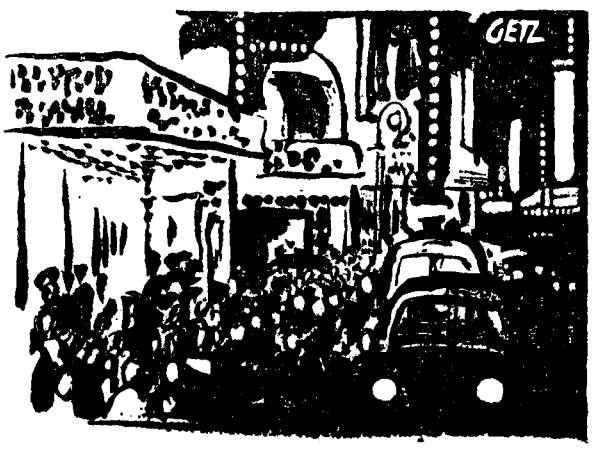
In the field of the films, the payment of "Odd Man Out" for "The Best Years of Our Lives" would seem to meet the highest requirements of fair business practice, and our countrymen certainly do not come off badly in trading Lana Turner's latest work for, let us say, "Great Expectations." But in the market of the theater, I'm afraid we are being swindled, especially at the counter where playwrights are swapped.

Out of balance. In the past few years we have exported the works of O'Neill, Wilder, Hellman, Sherwood, Odets, Kaufman, Behrman and a dozen other gifted workmen. In return, what has the homeland of Shakespeare, Congreve and George Bernard Shaw sent our way? Coward, Priestley and Rattigan, on a pleasant and respectable level; Van Druten, who must be regarded by now as more American than British, and a long succession of silly plays in which nervous young men with long hair amuse themselves by strangling, knifing, decapitating, and in other ways damaging, various pretty young ladies, usually in one thrifty, rather shabby, ill lit piece of scenery.

The latest such macabre bit of counterfeit coin, the highly touted "Power without Glory" served up to us this week at the Booth Theater, leads one to speculate wearily on what snuffling perversion it is in the English makeup that makes them delight so in endless rehashings of this drab, tuppenny formula. Especially today, after the enormous and significant slaughters of Dunkirk, Alamein, Caen, London and Arnhem, one wonders what enjoyment British audiences can derive from these back-page scandals.

Abdication. The American playgoer gets the unhappy impression that playwriting in England has been turned over, by and large, to the hacks. The films are far better written, the novels and poetry do not seem to come out of the same culture at all. Where are the Audens in the modern British theater, where are the Dylan Thomases, the Koestlers, the Waughs and the Huxleys? What is it about the theater with the greatest tradition in the world that has made men of talent turn from it disdainfully, leaving it to the type of writers who in America spend their time happily writing daytime radio serials?

Heaven knows, in this country we have our full quota of bad plays, and money-seeking plays. But there is a constant sense that men of talent are attempting their best work for the stage, whether or not they succeed. Certainly there is no great gap between the quality of the work of O'Neill,



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Williams and Odets and the novels of Hemingway and Steinbeck, the poetry of T. S. Eliot and Karl Shapiro.

It seems to me that if there is some deadly block standing between the good writers of Britain and their own theater, managers here might do well to invite them to write directly for our own stage, to our profit and Britain's.

The situation is the stranger because London is at present blessed with some of the most exciting actors and directors in the world. The Old Vic Company, to take one example, led by the protean Lawrence Olivier, should be enough to inspire two dozen gifted people to rush to their typewriters in an attempt to enlist Olivier's and Ralph Richardson's services on the stage. Instead, British rewrite men and time-servers rush to their typewriters to ring weary changes on "Night Must Fall."

Too easy. One of the most annoying things about the entire matter is that American audiences seem to be developing a taste for this trash. The reviewers of "Power without Glory," happily enough, did not welcome it, but the audience lapped it up. The second-night spectators at the Booth sat spellbound while the obsolete machinery on the stage ground on to its dismal climax. And the curtain calls must have warmed the hearts of the visiting actors, who had done nothing all evening that deserved the warming of the most trifling corner of the most naïve heart. Except for Helen Misener, who grumbled and whined expertly and amusingly through the part of an ailing old woman, and Trevor Ward, who brought a bleak conception of truth to an unrewarding role, the acting was as flashy and mechanical as a traveling carousel.

The author, Michael Clayton Hutton, demonstrated in the first ten minutes of the play that he has a touch for local speech and character. But then, as though frightened by his own daring in creating a scene which reminded us of real life, he firmly turned his back on his own talent, and plunged into the molasses vat of the standard, sticky, pound-luring plot.

IRWIN SHAW

MOVIES: Stillborn

OSCAR WILDE can still be revived—it is done successfully every few seasons—but it is no easy task and "An Ideal Husband" is certainly not the likeliest play for the attempt. Under anything but perfect circumstances, its morality shows threadbare and its moralizing becomes sententious. It is a cold piece of wit animated with paradoxes and it wants a lot of footlight warmth to keep the life in it. Probably it should never be tried on the screen, not even in the beguiling pastels that Cecil Beaton can coax out of Technicolor. Alexander Korda has just now put it on for London Film Productions and his house of cards has collapsed.

"An Ideal Husband" is the play about that most promising Member of Parliament, Sir Robert Chiltern, who committed a foolishness (*i.e.*, sold some government information) in his youth and who is brought to book for his indiscretion by a Mrs. Cheveley from Vienna.

Sir Robert's chagrin arises not from any particular feeling of remorse, but from the fact that he is married to a woman of almost superhuman rectitude. In the course of some very trying hours, however, Lady Chiltern is persuaded to take a more normal view of life, and this softening, with a few fortunate little accidents, clears up the difficulty and sends Sir Robert on the next stage of his journey to 10 Downing Street. That, at least, is the bare frame; Wilde made it sparkle.

In awe of Oscar. Paulette Goddard looks the part of the beautiful Mrs. Cheveley; a tribute as much to Beaton's flair for elegance in silk as to her carriage and comeliness. But when she moves in to make Sir Robert do her bidding, and when she gives his wife a quick review of the facts to date, she tends to get tough—a mistake no Wilde character, however depraved, could ever make. Also, she speaks her lines as though she were holding a piece of cheese between her teeth.

The whole cast, in fact, goes in for an extraordinary amount of dental gymnastics in quoting the wicked Mr. Wilde. Too often you lose what they're saying from watching how remarkably well they say it.

Hugh Williams as Sir Robert walks very carefully through his part and upsets no tea trays; Sir Aubrey Smith is a splendidly bushy earl. Michael Wilding as Viscount Goring, the scapegrace philosopher and savior of reputations more palatable than his own, and Diana Wynyard as Lady Chiltern come off best in the film. He has the showiest of Wilde's lines and seems less afraid of them than the others; she carries out her role of improbable highmindedness with the look of rather stupid virtue the author must have had in mind.

The film moves out of the drawing room every little while for a brisk trot through Hyde Park Corner. There is no dramatic reason for introducing this gay set, but it reminds the audience that the camera can be used for more than photographing plays if anyone has a mind to do it.

The adapters have otherwise stuck close to the original, asserting themselves only to the extent of improving Wilde's craftsmanship by switching a few of his scenes around, but the spirit has gone out of it. It has become

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stilted rather than brilliant; brittle rather than witty; awkward rather than mannered. Tiresome is the word Wilde would have used.

Gold fever. Out of *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre,* an old novel by B. Traven, John Huston has written and directed a superior he-man adventure that sweats and shoots its way from one climax to another and ends in ironic laughter. His father, Walter Huston, contributes to the excitement an extravagant but entertaining piece of character acting as the prototype of the old prospector who knows what's to be found in "them thar hills."

Gold mining on the informal burro and pickaxe level is a livelihood beset with moral as well as physical dangers, and from the worst of these the elder Huston, spry as a mountain goat, does what he can to protect his colleagues, a couple of Americans named Bogart and Holt whom he has picked up in a Tampico flophouse. Bogart, however, is in his ugliest mood, and he succeeds in bringing the expedition down around his ears.

Huston and Bogart practically act the spots off the cards, and they make Tim Holt's sturdy goodheartedness a little pallid by comparison. Short of heaving a rock into the camera, there's little you can do to divert attention from two such master hams.

Toward the end of the film, three Mexican bandits of the Villa vintage waylay Bogart in a scene that may well be remembered long after the picture as a whole has faded. This trio, headed by Alfonso Bedoya, displays a comic and graceful deadliness that is as menacing as anything the movies have produced in quite a while.

Subconscious. Walter Wanger's "Secret Beyond the Door," Fritz Lang directing, is a public demonstration of why amateurs should keep their hands off psychoanalysis. Says Joan Bennett to Michael Redgrave at the end, after the door has been opened and the neurosis shooed away: "We've got a long way to go." It saves the trouble of further discussion.

ROBERT HATCH

RADIO: Pittsburgh II

ON THE SAME WEEKEND this reporter was checking into the Pittsburgh broadcasting situation (the *NR,* January 19), figures issued by the Federal Communications Commission showed that work now in progress will soon increase the stations on the air by 50 percent over the total of June 30, 1946. This indication of rapid expansion in the fields of standard broadcasting, FM and television seems to make the approach used in the Pittsburgh investigation a pertinent one.

That approach was to use two Pittsburgh stations, one new and one old, as an inadequate but pragmatically justified sample. The new station, WPIT, yielded anything but a happy augury for radio's new crop. It becomes the more important, therefore, to look carefully at the type of programming done by the long established Pittsburgh station.

One need not go into KDKA's financial position to prove that it is a solid concern. Owned by the Westinghouse Electric Corporation, it has been a money-maker from the days of the crystal detector. But how solid is its record for serving "public interest, convenience and necessity"?

No glamor. KDKA is one of the less showy stations in this country. There are stations whose reception-room walls are plastered with banners, plaques and citations. KDKA has won few awards because they are seldom given for general, day-to-day devotion to what should be the broadcaster's prime duty—the job of serving his

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listening public. KDKA does little that's ephemerally spectacular.

Take its "School of the Air," broadcast five days a week, from 9:45 to 10 a.m. The title is a steal from the CBS show, but the community cooperation that enters the planning of this program, its careful preparation and its highly professional standards should compensate CBS for the theft. Such imitation is worth dollars and cents to everybody in radio.

Monday mornings, "School of the Air" gives its listeners a program called "Friends Around the World." The scripts are written by Arlene Jack, a KDKA staff member, and the production, under Lionel Poulton, another member of the station staff, uses professional actors, musicians, etc. The planning of the program was begun more than a year ago by Mrs. Victoria Corey, KDKA's educational director. The show attempts to integrate geography, social studies and art appreciation, and a committee of eleven educators worked with Mrs. Corey to outline the series and to prepare a teachers' handbook that is sent to any educator who wants one. On the committee are representatives of the public, parochial and private schools in the area.

Tuesday's program is entitled "So You Want a Job," and offers vocational guidance on a practical basis. Literature alternates with music every other Wednesday; a nature-study program is on Thursday's schedule; and the week is wound up with "Builders of America," a historical series.

No Hooper. Because schools do not receive telephone calls from C. E. Hooper's snoopers, the "School's" Hooperating is low. But its listening pull is proved in other ways. One is that the Pittsburgh Board of Education assigns hundreds of costly teacher-hours toward the job of preparing the basic material. Mail shows that hundreds of schools in small towns remote from Pittsburgh make this program part of their curriculum, and teachers use the "School's" handbook to follow through after the broadcasts.

"School" is not KDKA's only public service. Its daily farm show, six to seven a.m., is probably the oldest program of its kind in the country, and is still on the air after 27 consecutive years. KDKA is an affiliate of NBC, but that's about all they have in common. For one thing, KDKA is part of its community, while NBC is something remote, as far away from the average listener as US Steel is from the average user of that corporation's commodity.

When the United Nations General Assembly first met at Flushing Meadow, New York, the networks—including NBC—provided a few days of intensive coverage, then lay back in content. KDKA sent Mrs. Corey to Flushing. She did not broadcast from the UN; that might have been spectacular showmanship, but not the kind that makes KDKA outstanding. Instead, she sent her impressions and interviews to regulars on KDKA's broadcast schedule—the farm editor, the woman who runs the popular ladies' chatter show, the fellow who keeps the music programs tied together with wordage usually as harmless as it is meaningless. These people talked about the UN. The result was more of the kind of integration that is practised daily on "School of the Air."

Service pays. There are many other programs on KDKA's log, some worthier than others. Surprisingly, most of the "public-service" shows are not sustainers; advertisers find it good business to sponsor such programs. They bring prestige, and evidently sell a few bars of soap too. That is KDKA's lesson to the newer radio.

KDKA's claim that it is the oldest broadcaster in the world is disputed by at least three others (WHA, Madison, Wisconsin; KQW, San Jose, California; and WWJ, Detroit). Its kudos for brilliance are few. But its over-all programming record is excellent. Of course no special credit should be given to an organization for doing its duty, any more than a citizen deserves a medal merely for obeying the law and voting. But it's good to find one broadcasting institution that is as sincere as it is solvent.

SAUL CARSON

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FOREIGN PRESS: The German Prize

THE FINDING of "secret documents" in our time has an ominous sound. Frequently the "revelations" have been followed quickly by armed invasion. At best they signal worsening relations between nations and uglier, more irresponsible propaganda warfare.

As this column goes to press, cables from Germany tell how the British "revelations" of the alleged Cominform document labeled "Protocol M" have whipped the East-West cold war in Germany to a hysterical pitch reminiscent of the era of D-day minus X.

But the "revelations" are no more than a tactical advance in the long-range strategy for control of the German mind. Last week, this column reported the motivations of the French in their losing battle with the US, Britain and the Soviet Union for a share of the spoils. This week, we'll concern ourselves with the Russian propaganda offensive, whose most effective organ is the sloganeering *Tägliche Rundschau,* the Russian Military Government's German-language newspaper printed in Berlin.

One of the most elaborated on and most effective anti-American arguments was summed up by a *Rundschau* editorial on December 21: "It is becoming more apparent day by day that the principal reason American Secretary of State Marshall torpedoed the London conference was to gain a free hand for the long planned splitting of Germany."

TÄGLICHE RUNDSCHAU

Ammunition for this double-barreled accusation—deliberate wrecking of the conference and premeditated division of Germany—was furnished the Russian propagandists by our own American press, which predicted a bizonal or even trizonal western German state even before the Foreign Ministers met in London to discuss the unification of Germany.

Bizonal state. After the bizonal state became a fact on January 8, *Rundschau* attacked in earnest: "This policy was dictated by a desire to split Germany economically as well as politically . . . for fear that Germany might again become a competitor in world markets where American monopolies and their subsidiaries wish to deal and dictate unhampered. . . .

"For them [the Americans and the British] Bizonia is merely an object of economic exploitation and political chess play. They create a state and a government with all the outward earmarks of such institutions, but without the power to prevent overseas monopolists from profiteering on the diligence of the German laborer, exploiting German economy, and putting into

TAGLICHE RUNDSCHAU

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effect whatever policies they wish to impose.

"The 'reorganization' of Bizonia is the result of an American policy . . . damaging to the chances of a peace treaty with Germany and to the chances of peace in Europe."

Then—enter the all-white Russian hero: "The goal-conscious, faithful-to-principles policy of the Soviet Union is to work consistently toward the building of a democratic and lasting peace, and . . . to stand firmly on the side of a united and democratic Germany. This policy is based on decisions taken at Yalta and Potsdam, and will . . . be adhered to rigorously."

Reparations. In wooing Germania, Russian propagandists must obviously try to neutralize the shock of Molotov's demand for $10 billion in reparations.

"The Soviet Union wants reparations paid out of current production as well as in kind," writes *Rundschau,* primly explaining that this is in strict accord with the Yalta Agreement of 1944, and furthermore is in the direct interest of the German people, whose industry is thereby encouraged to function, furnishing them jobs today and uninterrupted production for domestic consumption in the future.

Then, in the best tradition of effective propaganda, *Rundschau* turns from defense to attack:

"Secretary Marshall chose to make reparations the issue over which to wreck the London conference . . . not bothering, however, to disclose that the Anglo-Saxon occupying powers have . . . since war's end . . . taken far more than $10 billion from Germany in gold, external assets, patents, trade secrets and confiscation of the German merchant marine alone."

Moreover, *Rundschau* informs its readers, "German exports of coal, timber and other raw materials are paid by the West not at current world-market rates but at the far lower German domestic rates of 1944 . . . while imports of food, kitchen utensils, beds and other such items as foreign monopolists are unable to market elsewhere are charged up to Germany at current world-market prices."

Commenting on Marshall's insistence in London that US occupation costs ($600 million yearly) be paid before Russia takes reparations, *Rundschau* indignantly argues that Russia certainly has both moral and material reasons for demanding priority over the US, which "forces loans on the German people which they never asked for . . . and by the injection of foreign capital into German industry . . . forces a strait jacket on Germany which will turn it into a hapless instrument of monopoly-capital and a forward bastion of US imperialism."

French veto. Foreseeing the imminent formation of Trizonia—currently being discussed in earnest by the US, Britain and France—*Rundschau* recalls that, contrary to widely publicized assertions, it was French and not Russian vetoes which prevented the setting up of the Potsdam-prescribed Central German Economic Administration by the Allied Four-Power Control Commission in Berlin. (That allegation can be corroborated by this correspondent, who, more than a year ago in Berlin, learned from General Clay himself that the French were vetoing all attempts at a Central German Economic Administration unless the Saar and all future administrations of the Ruhr and Rhineland were excluded.) Now, writes *Rundschau,* in order to complete creation of a Western European bloc, the US "exploits France's economic difficulties" by forcing her to accept Trizonia as the price of United States aid.

"But neither a unified peace economy nor the creation of a new democratic Germany is possible without the coöperation of the German people and the best efforts of all its democratic forces," concludes *Rundschau,* thereby indirectly inciting German resistance. It is the same dangerous game we play in Germany. In vying for the favors of Germania, both East and West are eagerly furnishing her the wherewithal and know-how to rid herself of her conquerors by the time-tested Hitlerian method of divide-and-conquer: an East-West war.

EVA PUTNAM

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CORRESPONDENCE

Brave New Year

This is to call your attention to the ed States Government calendar for recently distributed. You may be ...used at the platitude appearing on the sheet for January—"Better go back than go wrong."

Palo Alto, Calif. ANDREW O. ARNOLD

Impartial

SIR: Anybody wondering whether the US State Department is dealing to partitioned Palestine from a hot or cold deck ought to study a map of the Middle East—and then ponder the State Department's pious resolve not to help either the pro-Nazi Arabs or the pro-United Nations Jews.

A couple of hundred miles north of Palestine is pro-Nazi Turkey. Turkey, in spite of its wartime footie game with the Nazis, got a big chunk of the $450 million Truman Doctrine, including military supplies. Syria, between Turkey and Palestine, made lots of trouble for the fighting French. The pious Turks of course will not let any of their US or German military supplies drift down through Syria.

Saudi Arabia, that creation of America's biggest oil monopoly, lies south of Palestine and that truncated hunk of Palestine called Transjordan, a creation of the British Foreign Office. Saudi Arabia, according to Senator Brewster, got $90 million in lend-lease—and not one Saudi Arabian died throwing Rommel out of Egypt. . . .

East of Syria lies Iraq, subsidized by the Iraq Petroleum Company, a British-American Company . . . and east of Iraq lies Iran. The State Department, which apparently favors neither Arabs nor Jews, forced Iran to cancel an oil agreement with its northern neighbor, Russia. The power of the State Department is so great that it can snatch distant oil wells out of the mouth of the great bear.

World opinion canceled oiled opinion regarding Palestine for the Jews. But the oil-created, oil-dominated pieces of geography surrounding Zion can't help it if oil-financed munitions find Jewish targets. . . .

Why can't the [British] Foreign Office and the State Department, who apparently have used up their available military missions, borrow a brigade from some of the other United Nations like France or Russia or China to keep the peace in Palestine? Or is the State Department, which reluctantly went down the line for partition, now sitting with folded arms waiting for the petroleum protectorates to accomplish with gang warfare what the State Department wanted ... complished to begin with?

Larchmo. t, N. Y. NORMAN BURNSIDE

Legalism Department

The credit line on the poem, "A Voter's Dilemma," published in the *NR* of January 19, should have read: "From *Abinger Harvest,* by E. M. Forster; copyright 1936 by E. M. Forster; by permission of Harcourt, Brace and Company."

BANDWAGON

Crusader

Tojo also testified that Emperor Hirohito's "sincere desire for peace lasted right up to the last minute of peace and then throughout the war." – *UP dispatch from Tokyo.*

Snafu

The Long Island Railroad said its operations were "normal and practically on time." – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Like Diamonds

Proposals to ration meat are certain to come before the reconvening Congress, but are not likely to get anywhere.

The reason is that meat is no more a necessity than fuel oil, which is not rationed to individuals. To many persons meat is a luxury. They can take it or leave it. – *From an editorial in the Rock Island, Illinois,* Argus.

Together Again

The dentist has a record of several arrests beginning in 1922. He was charged with reckless driving in 1940 for driving two miles with his former wife on the bumper of his car. He was acquitted. – *From the Detroit* News.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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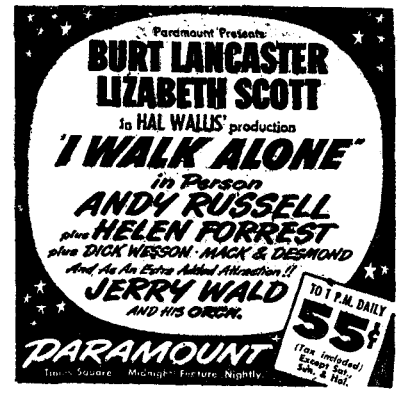

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SOME SAY OUR TIMING is wrong, that we spring the truth before the people are conditioned to accept it.

BUT SINCE ALL THE CONDITIONING is done by the cartels, it is urgent that someone beam a flashlight on their plans . . . and the sooner, the better, we think, because it takes time for people to adjust their sights and see through the mist of their illusions the stark depravity of the cartel mind and the cruel hypocrisy of those who serve that mind in the name of God.

THE FIRST REACTION TO THIS SHOCKING SIGHT IS ALWAYS: NO, IT CANNOT BE! Then gradually the facts confirm the view. Well, that has been our business: to see first and to tell first.

IT IS BECAUSE OF THIS that the cartels, sacred and secular, have given the order: lights out! Leave no spark alive! We have a dirty thing to do. We need the dark to do it in! This is why every means has been used to rub out THE PROTESTANT. They may succeed. But they will never succeed in rubbing out the truth, the truth that some day will get them by the throat.

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